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ABSTRACT

These proceedings of a 1982 symposium on Scandinavian emigration in Australia include presentations on three general topics: field work conducted in Australia and New Zealand in 1980-82; research progress; and Australian immigration policy. The presentors and their papers are: (1) Hans Norman, "The Emigration to America from the Nordic countries"; (2) Anthony Griffiths, "Australian Immigration"; (3) Olavi Koivukangas, "Scandinavians in Australia: A General Review"; (4) Ulf Beijbom, "Scandinavian Emigration to Australia and New Zealand: A Preliminary Report"; (5) Olavi Koivukangas, "Field Work in Australia, February 9-April 30, 1981"; (6) Ivo Holmqvist, "Field Work in New Zealand and Australia, June 4-August 8, 1981"; (7) Allan T. Nilson,"Field Work in Australia, November 10, 1981-February 6, 1982"; (8) James L. Sanderson, "New South Wales, Australia, Progress Report, February 1982"; (9) Sten Almqvist, "Swedish Pioneers in Australia: A Summary"; (10) John S. Martin, "Ethnic Identity and Social Organization in the Scandinavian Communities in Melbourne 1870-1919"; (11) Mark W. Garner, "Language Use and Ethnicity among the Swedish Community"; (12) Anthony Griffiths, "The Finns in Bunyip"; (13) K.J. Battarbee, "From Finnish Farms to Australian Mines: A Research Proposal"; (14) Peija Ilpola, "Multiculturalism in Australia"; and (15) Jan Reksten, "Australian Immigration Policy." (KH)

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MIGRATION STUDIES
C 7

OLAVI KOIVUKANGAS, ed.

SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND PROJECT

Proceedings of a Symposium February 17-19, 1982, Turku, Finland

INSTITUTE OF MIGRATION
TURKU, FINLAND
1983

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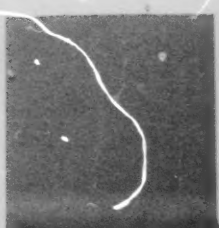

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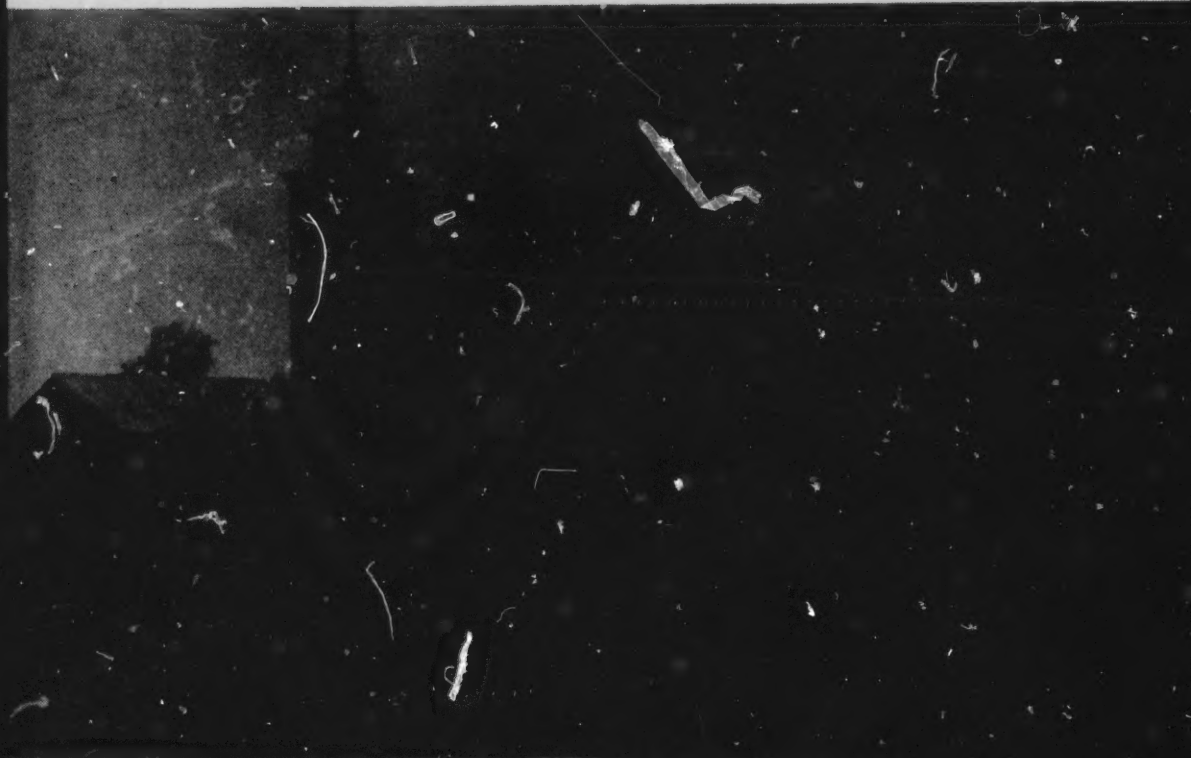
FROM SCANDINAVIA TO AUSTRALIA



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I INTRODUCTORY SESSION

OPENING OF THE SYMPOSIUM

Olavi Koivukangas
Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the Institute of Migration and our Scandinavian - Australian project I have the pleasure to welcome you all to Turku and to this international symposium.

First, I would like to briefly introduce our Institute. This institution was founded in March 1974 as a private foundation, although major funding comes from the Finnish Government through the Ministry of Education. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Labour are also represented on the Governing Council of the Institute, as are all the Finnish universities and a number of organisations, altogether 29 in number . In addition to the Council, which meets twice a year, there is the Administrative Board and a rather small staff.

The aim of the Institute of Migration is to promote the study of migration, including internal migration in Finland. The major functions are:

1. to collect archival, statistical and other materials, including interviews, photographs, films, etc.,
2. to promote and conduct research and especially to co-ordinate research,
3. to publish studies, many of these academic dissertations, and a quarterly, *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*. We have three book series, Finnish, Swedish and English, plus some special publications, eg. a bibliography of Finnish migration movements,
4. to organize seminars and conferences on the national and international level,
5. to produce exhibitions, the biggest being about Finnish emigration to Sweden through the ages. This exhibit has been circulating in Sweden since May 1980 for nearly two years with more than 100.000 visitors and will be presented later in 1982-83 in Finland, to be finally set up here at the Institute,
6. to engage in other activities connected with migration movements and their research, eg. attempting to make a "data bank" for documentation and cooperation in this field.

Although much has been achieved in seven years, we are still in the beginning stages because the area covered is so wide, long neglected, and complicated in many ways.

As you know, there is in Växjö, Sweden, a very similar institution, "Emigrantinstitutet," which was founded as early as the 1960's. This institution, under the energetic direction of Dr. Beijbom, has been very active, especially in collecting material on Swedes in North America. For some years Emigrantinstitutet has also been interested in Australia and New Zealand, through the initiative, I suppose, of Sten Almqvist, to whom we extend our thanks. Gradually, plans developed so that in March 1978 a first seminar was held in Växjö, Sweden. This well-attended meeting turned out to be a success, and consequently it was decided to develop a "Scandinavian Emigration to the Antipodes Project." An application was sent to the Nordic Council in Copenhagen, and an amount of 110.100 Danish crowns was granted primarily for field work in Australia and New Zealand. The aim was to collect archival material and personal documents and, of course, to interview Scandinavian settlers. As part of the project four Scandinavian scholars have visited Australia and New Zealand as follows:

1. In late 1980 Ulf Beijbom visited to make the project known and to establish contacts.
2. From February to April 1981 Olavi Koivukangas visited all the Australian states collecting information about Finns there.
3. During the summer of 1981 Ivo Holmqvist did field work in Australia and New Zealand.
4. Last but not least, Allan T. Nilson from Gothenburg went to Australia and New Zealand in Nov. 1981 - Feb. 1982.

I will not say more about these trips, as we will have a later session about the experiences and results of this field work.

Now as the next stage - analyzing the collected material and doing actual research - is beginning, it is important to meet with collegues to discuss these processes and perhaps to get new ideas and fruitful critiques. This type of scholarly discussion will be the best way to tackle the problems involved. It is important that we produce research results in a reasonably short time and promote further research especially among younger persons interested in Australia and New Zealand. When manuscripts are ready, the next stage should be publishing the research results for a wider audience.

On behalf of the organizers I have the pleasure to heartily welcome you to this symposium. I am especially glad that we have here from Australia John S. Martin and Mark Garner, from Melbourne, Anthony Griffiths from Adelaide. Jan Reksten from the Australian Embassy in Sweden will be here on Friday.

I hope you will enjoy your visit in Turku, both scholarly and socially. I am sure this meeting will be an important step in the continuing project on Scandinavian emigration and settlement in Australia and New Zealand.

THE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA FROM THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Hans Norman
University of Uppsala, Sweden

Few phenomena in history have captivated so many as the great emigration to America. That was as true of the time during which the emigration occurred as during our own era. The emigration comprised so many people and the contacts with America became so extensive that it is scarcely an exaggeration to state that in the Nordic countries nearly every person had some relative or friend who had emigrated to America.

America was not an unknown land for the Scandinavians when emigration began. The British colonies' struggle for independence had aroused attention throughout the world, and the political debate in the Nordic countries as well as in Europe as a whole was colored by ideas from the American independence movement. Conditions in America were actively discussed in newspapers and pamphlets. Some gave a dark picture of America, while others saw America as a free land which offered the individual great possibilities for success. America became for an increasing number of people the promised land, in matters of both economics and politics.[1]

The great emigration must be viewed against the background of the population increase and the changes which occurred in society during the nineteenth century. As a result of the decreased death rate and the continued high birth rate the population increased rapidly. Industry, which developed only gradually, was far from capable of absorbing all of the labor. The vast majority of the population in the Nordic countries was in 1870 still living in rural areas with occupations in agriculture and related branches.

The emigration was an enormous movement of people from Europe to America. To the United States alone more than 30 million people emigrated from the European countries during the years 1821-1930. Furthermore, many went to Canada, South America, and to Australia. The total transoceanic European emigration involved approximately 50 million persons.[2]

The Size of the Nordic Emigration

From the Nordic countries a total of nearly 3 million people emigrated, a significant

1. Runeby 1969
2. Åkerman 1975

proportion when viewed in terms of the total population.[3]

The annual size of the emigration from the Nordic countries during different ten-yearperiods calculated in relation to the mean population is shown in Table 1, where a comparison also can be made with some other European countries.

Table 1. Transocean emigration from the Nordic Countries and from some other European countries. Mean annual emigration in per mille of the population 1851-1910.

	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1991-00	1901-10
Denmark	0.3	1.0	2.1	3.9	2.2	2.8
Finland			0.2	1.2	2.4	5.5
Norway	2.4	5.8	4.7	9.6	4.5	8.3
Sweden	0.4	2.3	2.3	7.0	4.2	4.2
Iceland			4.2	8.8	3.0	2.3
Ireland		14.7	10.2	14.9	10.1	11.1[X]
England		2.8	4.0	5.7	3.6	5.8
German Reich	2.6	1.7	1.5	2.9	1.0	0.5
France	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1
Italy			1.0	3.2	4.9	10.8

[X]Related only to the years 1901-08.

Sources: Emigrationsutredningen, bil. IV, tab. 26; Willcox 1931, tab. 9; Officiell statistik för de nordiska länderna (Official statistics of the Nordic Countries).

During the ten-yearperiod when the emigration was highest from each country, emigration from Norway thus amounted to 10 persons out of 1,000 inhabitants. The same figure from Denmark was 4, Sweden 7, Finland 6 and Iceland 9. In Europe Ireland was strongest affected by emigration with 15 emigrants out of 1,000 inhabitants during two ten-year-periods.

In absolute numbers the emigration during the period 1851-1930 was 0.8 million persons from Norway, 0.4 million from Denmark, 1.2 million from Sweden, 0.4 million from Finland, while the figures for Iceland were only 14,000 due to this country's low number of inhabitants. Ireland's emigration during the years 1856-1908 amounted to 3.3 million persons.

The Chronology of the Emigration

The size of the emigration to North America varied greatly from year to year. There were five periods with high European emigration, 1847-54, 1866-73, 1879-92, 1903-

3. This presentation follows to a considerable extent Norman, H. – Runblom, H, eds. Nordisk Emigrationsatlas 1980. (Nordic Emigration Atlas).

14 as well as the period 1921-24. Up until the 1860's emigrants came primarily from western Europe, that is, from Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland, but also in increasing numbers from the Scandinavian countries. The emigration from these countries continued to dominate up until the beginning of the 1890's, but even in the 1880's southern and eastern Europeans, mostly from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were on the increase. From the turn of the century, 1900, these countries totally dominated the emigration to North America. This development is illustrated in figure 1.

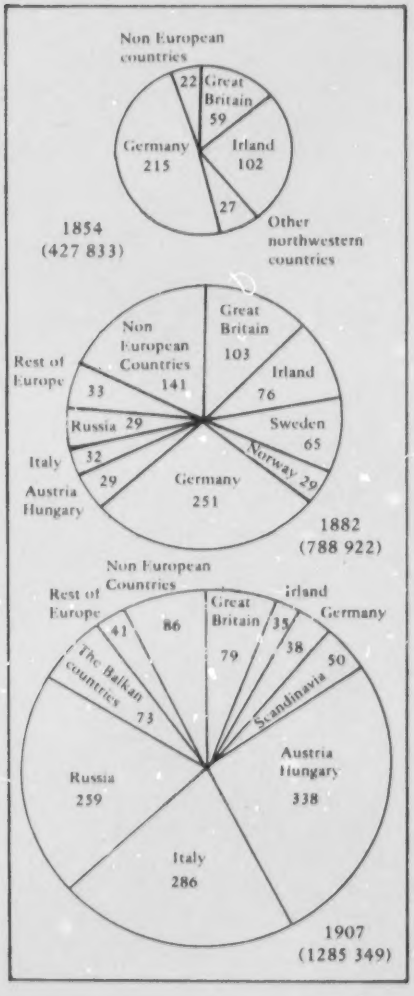
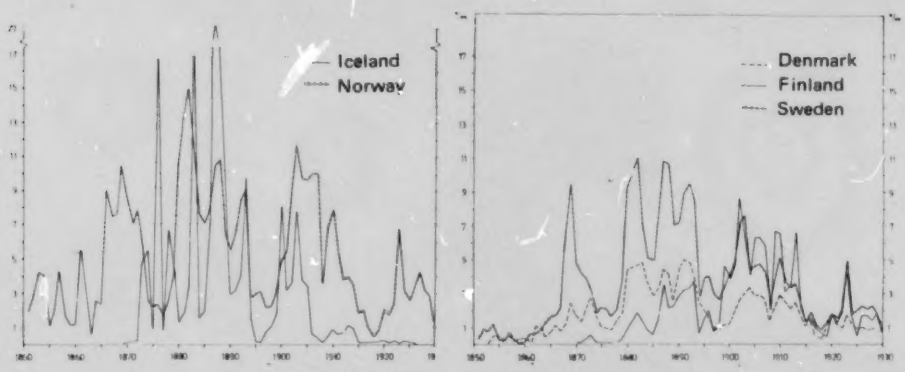


Figure 1. The immigration to the USA during the great European emigration years, 1854, 1882, and 1907. The figures give the total number of emigrants in thousands during the named top years.
Source. Th. Taylor 1971, p. 63.

Like the emigration from all Europe, which principally spread from west to east, a similar trend can be seen in the Nordic countries. The emigration started in Norway. As soon as 1825 a group of 52 persons, most of them quakers and haugians, left the harbour of Stavanger with the sloop "Restauration", which was destinied for New York. In Sweden the mass emigration began during the late 1860's while the Finnish emigration did not accelerate until at the end of the 19th century. The development in Finland can be seen as in conformity with the East-European pattern with its relatively late transocean emigration. The Danish emigration was always relatively low and it never reached the intensity of Sweden and Norway. The Icelandic emigration, finally, started rather late but soon reached a very high intensity during the 1880's.

Diagram, figure 2, shows the variation and intensity of the emigration from the Nordic countries.

Figure 2. The yearly emigration to North America from Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The total number of emigrants per thousand inhabitants 1851-1930.
Sources: The official statistics for the respective countries.



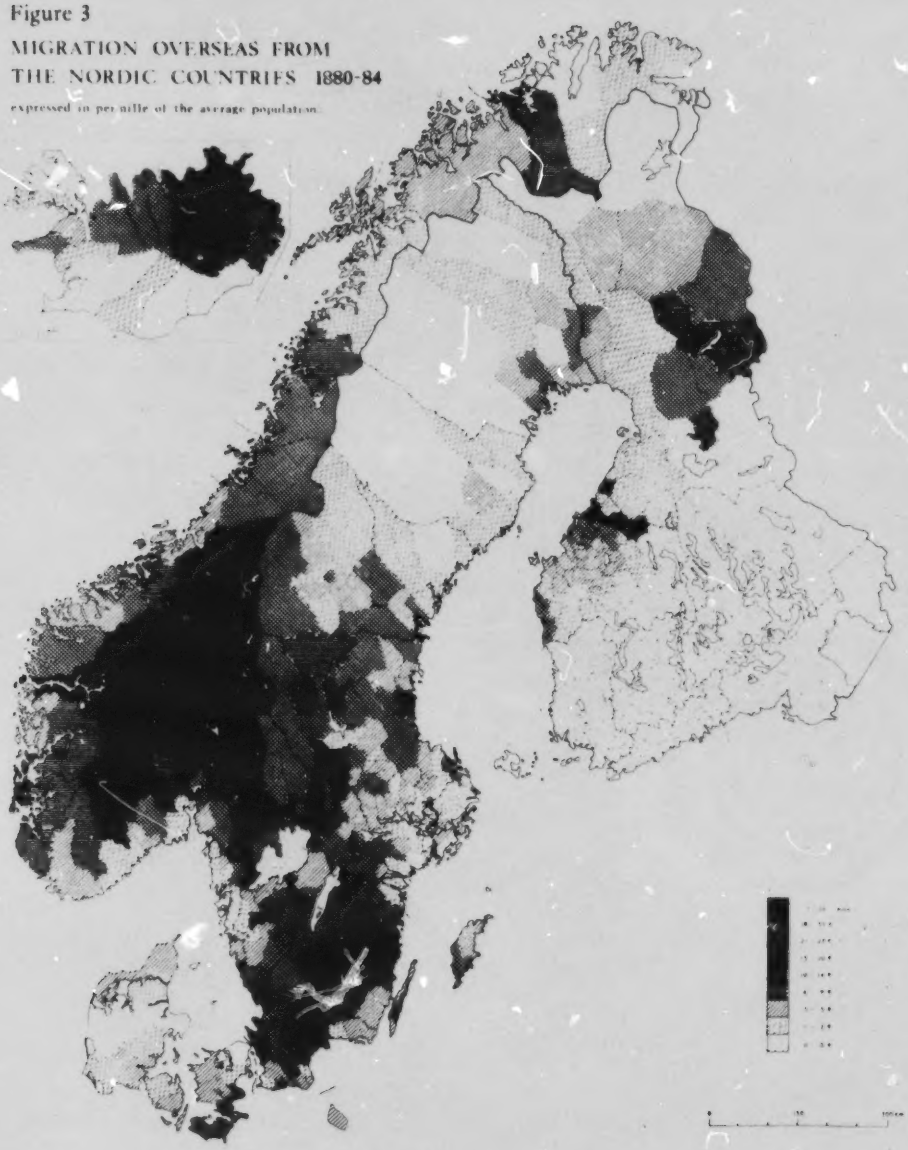
Regional and Chronological Characteristics of the Nordic Emigration

The maps showing the emigration from the Nordic countries (figure 3, 1880-1884 and figure 4, 1905-1909) indicate significant variations in the intensity of emigration among the countries and among different regions within the countries. For the most part the emigration pattern spread, as mentioned above, from west to east. In Sweden there also occurred a distribution of the pattern from the south to the northern parts of the country. At the same time that the wave of emigration spread over an increasingly larger area, it continued to be high in those sections from which emigrants had previously come, i.e. these sections of the country had early formed an emigration tradition. Striking examples of this can be seen in southern Norway, north-eastern Iceland, the province of Ostrobothnia in Finland as well as in the southern part of Sweden.

Figure 3

MIGRATION OVERSEAS FROM THE NORDIC COUNTRIES 1880-84

expressed in per mille of the average population

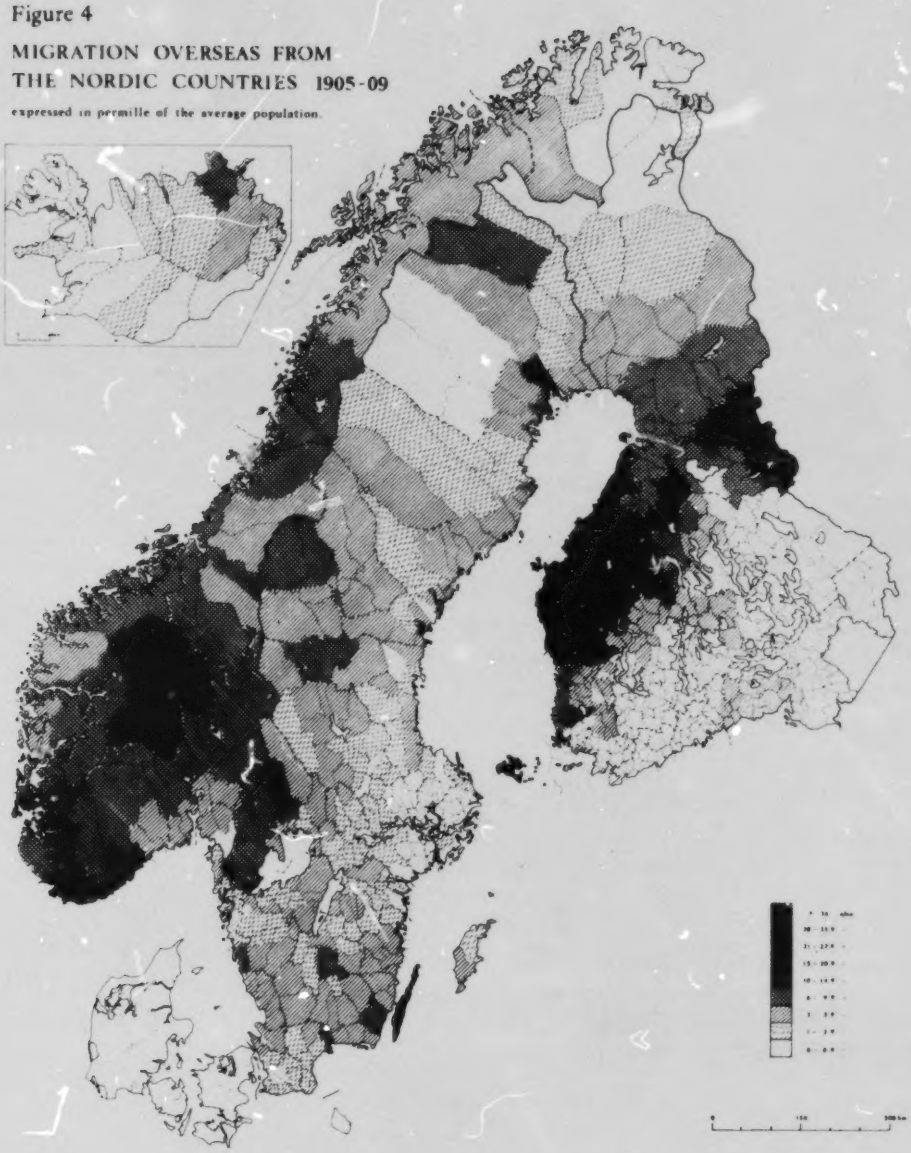


If one follows the graphs which indicate the upward and downward movement of emigration one can, if consideration is taken of the emigrants' social and demographic composition (age, sex, civil status and profession), distinguish certain major lines of development in the emigration. The development in Sweden will be used to exemplify what happened in other areas of the Nordic countries where emigration began relatively early. During the 1840's and the 1850's much of the emigration was characterized

Figure 4

MIGRATION OVERSEAS FROM THE NORDIC COUNTRIES 1905-09

expressed in permille of the average population.



by several well-known groups of emigrants. Here one can name the group of emigrants of the "higher class people" surrounding the Uppsala scholar Gustaf Unonius who emigrated to Pine Lake, Wisconsin in 1841; the emigration from Kisa in Östergötland in 1845 to Iowa which was lead by the farmer and carpenter Peter Cassel; the emigration from Hälsingland to Bishop Hill, Illinois in 1846 under the guidance of the sect leader Erik Jansson from Biskopskulla; and the great group of emigrants in 1853-54 from the

mining region near Karlskoga who emigrated to Stockholm, Wisconsin under the leadership of Erik Pettersson from a miner's homestead in the area. To that same period belonged also the well-known emigration from Ljuder parish to Chisago Lake which was described in Vilhelm Moberg's trilogy.

The next phase was marked by the top emigration year, 1868-1869. It was then that the first great wave of mass emigration came that was primarily a result of the poor harvests during the latter part of the 1860's.

The movement to America during the 1880's and the 1890's is generally designated as the high water mark of emigration when emigration reached its greatest extent in nearly all of the Nordic countries.

The years from the turn of the century up until the end of the emigration era were characterized increasingly by the so-called transatlantic labour market mobility. That meant that a larger portion of the emigration consisted of seasonal movement and that an ever increasing portion of the emigrants returned to the home country after a few years. [1]

The emigrants came from all levels of society, but the majority were propertyless, unmarried men and women, most often in the ages 20-25 years. A great number were the sons and daughters of farmers as well as crofters and other poor agricultural subgroups. Later the portion of industrial workers became larger. Many men chose emigration instead of military conscription.

As mentioned earlier, the pioneer emigrants traveled for the most part in united groups that consisted to a great extent of families. With the beginning of the mass emigration the number of families decreased, and emigration was characterized more and more of single emigrants ages 15-25 years. After the turn of the century the number of skilled and professional persons among the emigrants increased.

Next to Ireland Norway had the strongest emigration of the European countries according to the population size. What was the reason for the high intensity of this country? As an important explaining factor the Norwegian historian Ingrid Semmingsen points to the fact that emigration from Norway started so early compared to the other Nordic Countries. Since the emigration from Norway started 15-20 years before that of Sweden and Denmark, there were many more Norwegians already settled in America when the mass emigration started from the other Scandinavian countries. In 1860 there were 44,000 Norwegians in the USA, while Swedes amounted to 19,000 and Danes to 10,000. When the "Homestead Act" in the late 1860's attracted great crowds of land hungry Scandinavians to the frontiers of the Middle West, there were many more Norwegians than people from other Nordic countries who could procure contacts and knowledge about suitable settlement areas, many more who both could inform relatives and acquaintances from their home country about tempting offers and often also sent "prepaid tickets". There was, thus, an early developed emigration tradition in Norway, a factor which in general has been of great importance to a continued large emigration.[2]

The importance of migration tradition of various areas for the size of emigration has also been emphasized by the Finnish emigration historian Reino Kero. In certain

1. Tedebrand 1972.

2. Semmingsen 1978; Cf Norman 1976, pp. 255 ff.

areas in Finland the emigration intensity remained high during several decades, while migration in other areas almost exclusively was directed towards expanding industrial towns within the home country. Vasa län along the Gulf of Bothnia had an intense transatlantic emigration, while other areas in the south and east of Finland had a remarkably low emigration.[1]

Two important observations can further be mentioned about emigration from Finland. The first one concerns the regional extent, which is partly dealt with above. The American emigration from the most intense emigration area in Finland (Vasa län) started in the coast area, where the population to a great extent was of Swedish origin and where the language almost exclusively was Swedish. The people here had frequent contacts with the saw mill district on the Swedish side of the Gulf of Bothnia through trading and seasonal labour migration. The inclination to emigrate to America was for a long time limited to these Swedish speaking districts along the coast. This pattern was gradually changed and some emigration started as time went on from areas in other parts of Finland. The strong emigration remained relatively limited to the provinces at the Gulf of Bothnia and was to a remarkably small extent spread across the language barrier. (Compare maps, figure 3 and 4.)

The second observation concerns changes over time of the emigration to different countries of destination. An investigation of the years 1860-1910 shows that migration to other countries from the Vasa län during this time mainly was directed towards three areas, Russia, Sweden and America.

a) During the mid-1800's the main part of the emigrants, including the seasonal labour migrants, went to the St. Petersburg area in Russia. (After the Russian-Swedish war 1808-1809 Finland had become a Grand Duchy of Imperial Russia.)

b) Some decades later a considerable amount of the emigration and seasonal labour migration was directed towards the Swedish saw mill districts on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia. These movements reached their peak during the 1880's, when emigration and labour migration to the St. Petersburg area had almost entirely halted.

c) During the 1880's, as a third phase finally, the emigration to America from the Vasa län started. It reached its largest extent during the first decade of the 20th century, when the emigration to Sweden had decreased.[2]

The favourable development of the Danish agriculture was one important reason that the emigration was not very strong from this sector while it was relatively high from urban areas. The wages within the agrarian production were higher in Denmark than in other parts of Scandinavia. It is symptomatic that a considerable emigration of both male and female workers took place from southern and western Sweden to agrarian parts of Denmark, especially during the 1880's. Kristian Hvidt, who has performed a thorough investigation of the background of the Danish emigration and the emigrants' destination areas in America, also mentions two other exceptional features in Danish emigration: The emigration was strong from North Slesvig after the war against Prussia in 1864. While political causes often are exaggerated as push factors in the discussions about emigration from other places, we can here actually find a striking example of such reasons behind an emigration wave.

1. Kero 1978.
2. De Geer and Wester 1975.

A second distinguished feature in the Danish emigration was its strong element of Mormons. This religious movement early got a strong hold in Denmark partly due to the fact that one of the leading elders of Brighan Young was a Dane, partly because the authorities in Denmark were not as negative toward Mormon missionaries as was the case in Sweden and Norway. More than 16,000 Danes settled in Utah and next to Great Britain Denmark gave the largest contributions of immigrants to the Mormon state of Utah.[1]

The emigration from Iceland to America did not start until the year 1873. This is a bit surprising since there were bad times for farming during the 1860's both due to a hard climate and diseases among the sheep. The Icelandic emigration researcher Helgi Skuli Kjartansson points out that: "The Icelanders would... have had the most classic economic reasons to emigrate before 1873." From this year on, however, the emigration from Iceland increased immensely. There was obviously an accumulated inclination to emigrate in the country which caused no less than 14 °/oo of the whole population to display a keen interest in emigration, when the Allan line advertised about its transport of emigrants to America.[2]

The Icelanders in America have maintained a strong ethnic consciousness. A comparative study of Swedes and Icelanders in Canada shows that Icelanders to a much higher degree preserved their cultural inheritance. The Icelandic institutions in Canada are today much more vigorous than the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. The Icelanders are the only Nordics who have managed to acquire a scientific, academic hold by the Icelandic institution at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. This institution has acted as an important contact between the Icelanders in Canada and their home country.[3]

The ethnic consciousness which is found among Icelanders corresponds with similar findings made by researchers concerning other immigrants in America. The Icelandic immigrants to a high extent arrived with their families, their sex distribution was rather even and they settled ethnically concentrated.

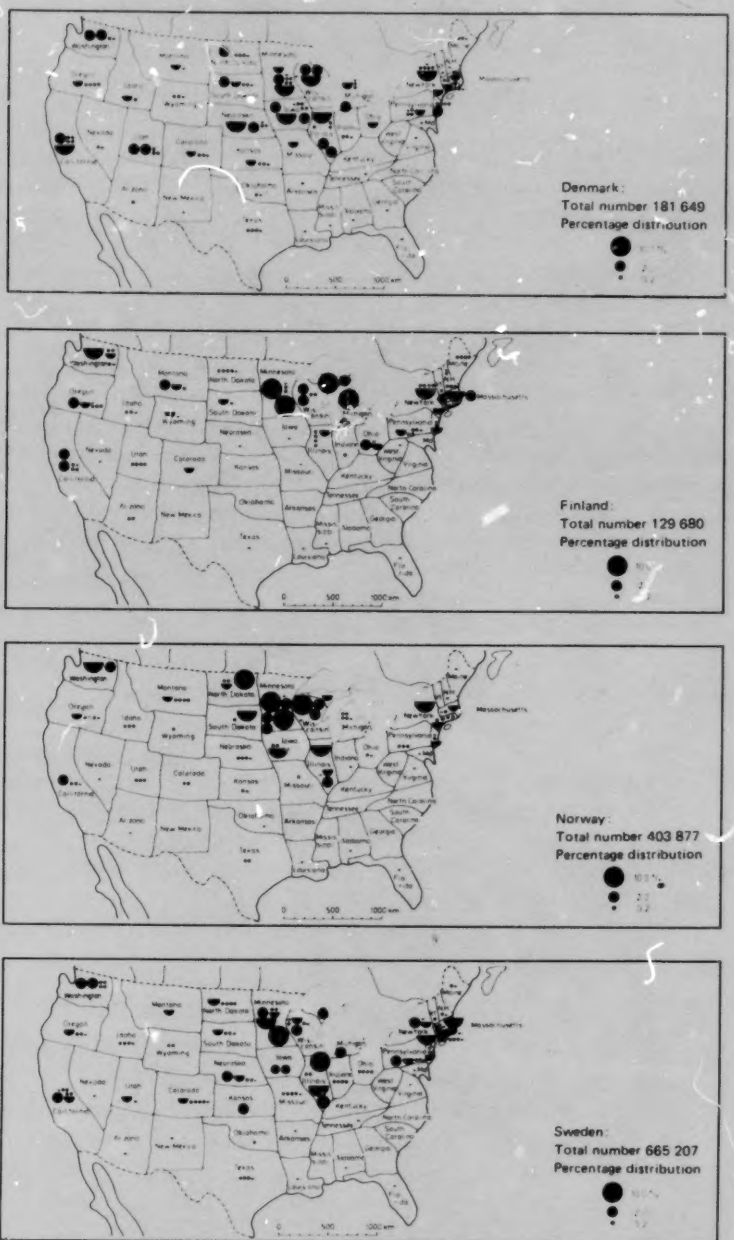
The Swedish immigrants in Canada show another pattern. The male dominance in numbers was very marked. They went there at a late phase of the Swedish emigration period, and they came to very scattered working spots in the immigration country. A large amount re-migrated to Sweden. It has been shown that when immigrants settled in concentrated colonisation areas and also came from geographically limited districts in their home countries, they tended to remain in their settlement and had a strong ethnic and cultural homogeneity.[4]

Settlement Areas in United States

At the start of the Scandinavian mass emigration the American farming frontier had extended as far as the Mississippi and St. Croix River Valleys. As the time of arrival for

1. Hvidt 1971. The emigration from Denmark is not shown on map 1905-09, because of lack of statistics.
2. Kjartansson 1978.
3. Runblom 1977.
4. Rice 1973, pp. 64-67, Norman 1976, pp. 266-269, Ostergren 1976, pp. 129-130

Figure 5. Distribution of Danish-, Finnish-, Norwegian- and Swedish-Born Population in the US 1910. Source: US Population Census 1910.[1]



1) Norman, Hans and Runblom, Harald (eds.), Nordisk Emigrationatlas (Nordic Emigration Atlas). Kartor (Maps) II. Texter och kommentarer (Text and comments). Uddevalla 1980.

various ethnic groups largely decided which areas of the continent they would settle, and as most Scandinavian immigrants at the beginning came to America to acquire land, the people from the Nordic countries during the early period, to a great extent settled in the Middle West. (Compare maps, figure 5).

As emigration progressed, the Midwest lost much of its status as prime areas of Scandinavian settlement. Their strong concentration of Scandinavians was further reduced by the early 1900's as a result of inter-state migration. Many of the first and second generations migrated from farming districts to more industrialized areas nearer the East Coast. Relatively large numbers of them also moved to the Pacific Coast and, in some measure, to the South.

A comparative study of the regional distribution of Scandinavian immigrants in 1910 shows that Norwegians were most concentrated in the Middle West. At that time no less than 65 per cent of all Norwegian immigrants lived in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Illinois, and Iowa, with the greatest proportion in the first three states. (Compare table 2). During the Civil War, Norwegians had a still heavier concentration to the Middle West. More than 90 % of them lived in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota.[1] In contrast, the five states mentioned had only 45 per cent of all Swedish immigrants in 1910. 40 per cent of the Danes and such a low figure as 28 per cent of all Finnish immigrants. The Danes were almost equally distributed among the typical farming states of the Middle West but also had strong numbers in Nebraska and California. The Finns were primarily concentrated to Minnesota and Michigan. Nearly one fourth of all Finnish immigrants settled in Michigan. (Table 2). Almost half the number of Finnish born people lived in Minnesota and Michigan, where they were concentrated to the northern parts of these states in the Lake Superior Area.[2]

Table 2. Concentration of Scandinavian minorities in the US in 1910. Distribution by states with at least 5 per cent of each minority population.

	Minnesota	Illinois	Iowa	Wisconsin	North Dakota	South Dakota	Michigan	Nebraska	New York	Massachusetts	Washington	California
Swedes	18.4	17.2							8.1	5.9		
Norwegians	26.0	8.2	5.4	14.1	11.4	5.2			6.2		6.9	
Danes	8.8	9.5	9.9	9.0				7.5	6.9			7.8
Finns	20.5						24.0		6.8	8.2	6.7	

Source: A. Svalestuen 1971, p. 53.

1. Semmingsen II, 1950, p. 241.

2. Svalestuen 1971, pp. 52 ff; Nelson 1943, Vol. I, p. 184.

The point in time at which various ethnic groups emigrated often determined were they settled as the frontier was constantly moving westward. A good example is the settlement in Wisconsin. The Germans, who came early in the 1840's, were located mainly in the state's southern part. The Norwegians settled further west, and the Swedes, who arrived somewhat later, had their greatest concentration in the state's northwestern portions. The Finnish area of settlement, finally, was found on poorer land in the northern parts of Wisconsin.

The Nordic population in North America has at best consisted of only a few percent. Within certain limited areas, however, the proportion of Scandinavians was rather large. An example of this is seen in Minnesota where in Kanabec, Chisago, and Isanti counties, 46 percent, 60 percent and 66 percent of the inhabitants in 1910 were born in Sweden or had parents who were born in Sweden. There were also strong concentrations of immigrants from the Nordic countries in many American cities. At the turn of the century every tenth Swedish-American lived in Chicago, the metropolitan area for the extensive agricultural areas of the Middle West. At that time only Stockholm had a larger Swedish urban population.

The Nordic Emigration to Canada

The first residents of the Nordic countries who arrived in Canada in significant numbers were Icelanders. During the period 1878-1905 an extensive emigration from Iceland occurred in relation to the total population.

In the first phase the Iceland emigration to America was directed to Wisconsin, but these immigrants soon moved onward to a large degree to Gimli, near Winnipeg, Manitoba (New Iceland). It was mainly to that part of Canada that the continued immigration of Icelanders was later concentrated.

The emigration from the remainder of the Nordic countries to Canada became more intense during the 1890's. A significant part of the Scandinavian immigration to Canada occurred via the USA. Among other things, second generation immigrants to the Middle West were enticed over the border to settle in the Canadian prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta), where land was offered for lower prices.

The Nordic immigrants were to be found for the most part in the province of Ontario and those to the west. The Canadian cities of Toronto, Winnipeg, Galgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver have had significant numbers of Scandinavians.

Finns, Norwegians, and Swedes have made important contributions as railway workers and construction workers in Canada. In British Columbia they worked in the forests and in the mines. Many did this work for shorter periods and then returned to the homeland with their savings. The Scandinavian immigration to Canada during the twentieth century has for the most part had the character of temporary labour migration.[1]

The Nordic Emigration to South America

A basic pattern in the trans-Atlantic mass migration was that the Northern Euro-

1. Kjartansson 1978, Runblom 1977.

peans emigrated above all to North America, while the southern Europeans preferred South America, especially the subtropical and temperate areas in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. The immigration to Brazil reached its peak about 1890, which is related to the rapid expansion in the export of Brazilian agricultural products, particularly the cultivation of coffee, together with the repeal of slavery in 1888.

In Scandinavia the emigrant agents worked with support from the Brazilian authorities who distributed propaganda material. From time to time free travel or generous contributions to the travel expenses were offered which attracted Swedish emigrants with large families who otherwise would not have had the means to emigrate. That explains why the emigration to South America was characterized by a greater proportion of families than the emigration to North America at the same time.[1]

From Denmark 14 065 emigrants to South America were registered the years 1869 to 1924. Of the Danish Latin-American emigrants 70-80 percent landed in Argentina.

Up until 1906 the Finnish emigrants to Latin America were few and widespread. In the beginning of the century plans were made in Finland for a Finnish colony in southern Argentina. In 1906 this became a reality in a somewhat modified form, when a large group of intellectuals, primarily Swedish-speaking, established "Colonia Finlandesa" in the province of Misiones in Argentina . This Finnish emigration can be seen as a statement of discontent with the Russian regime and the russification which was practiced in the 1890's in the Grand Duchy of Finland.

The Swedish emigration was mainly directed toward Brazil and took place on three different occasions: during the years of famine 1868-1869, the winter of 1890-1891, and 1909-1911. Dissatisfaction with the trade unions was an important factor in the Swedish emigration to Brazil. The emigration from Sundsvall 1890-1891 was preceded by the so-called Brazil Meeting, which took the form of a manifestation against the employers at the saw-mills. The emigration from Kiruna in 1909-1911 had a clear connection with the nationwide general strike in 1909.

A characteristic in the Swedish emigration to South America was that the migrants came from just a few areas. Thus the 1891 emigrants came from Stockholm, and from the provinces of Gävleborg, Västernorrland, and Jämtland. In these provinces it was certain areas that were especially strongly effected.

In Brazil and Argentina the majority of the Scandinavian immigrants found themselves in miserable circumstances. Their situation was characterized by material want and cultural dissolution. The death rate was very high. Many considered themselves to have been deceived by the Brazilian propaganda. The greatest concentration of immigrants from the Nordic countries arose in Missiones Argentina during the first decade of the twentieth century, where many of the Swedish emigrants to Brazil moved, and where the unity was rather great between the Swedes and the Finns. The collective return journey of 500 Swedes in 1912 that was sponsored by the Swedish government can be considered evidence of the difficulties faced by these immigrants.

1. Stenbeck 1973.

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AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION

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Since the foundation of Australia about 5.000.000 persons have come to the Continent as migrants. They came in a series of waves: as convicts (for in Australia transportation is considered part of the history of migration), free settlers, or assisted immigrants from the United Kingdom, and after 1945, from Europe, and finally as part of the liberalisation of the white Australia policy, Asians were welcomed to Australia's shores.

Although it is an obvious point, Australia was not a *terra rasa*. When the first Europeans landed, there were people in Australia, the Aborigines, with an estimated population of 300,000 in 500 tribes, speaking 300 languages. This group lived in a stone-age existence and quickly succumbed to the pressure of the first Europeans.

The first immigrants arrived 18 January 1788. Many of them were criminals, swept from the gaols of the English prisons, and on the whole they were an unromantic lot of recidivists, pickpockets, thieves, and prostitutes, leavened with the odd professional man. Captain Arthur Phillip, i.e., spoke French, German and Portugese. A forger named Greenway proved to have a talent for architectural design, some of the Irish political prisoners later moved into legitimate politics, where their contact with Australia turned them middle class and respectable.

Table 1: Convict Population

	Males	Females	Total	Percent of population
		New South Wales		
1804	1,561	516	2,077	29.8
1819	8,920	1,056	9,986	38.3
1828	16,442	1,544	16,986	46.4
1836	25,254	2,577	27,831	36.1
		Tasmania		
1814	387	50	437	23.0
1819	1,928	262	2,190	47.1
1828	6,724	725	7,449	40.4
1835	14,914	2,054	16,968	42.1

If the history of immigration is disreputable in its origins, it is nevertheless long. To put it in its perspective, the first Australian immigrants arrived in 1788 in New Holland (as the Dutch explorers who discovered it had called it) twenty-five years before the Treaty of Tilsit and the Diet of Porvoo, and 139 years before Finland's independence in 1917. Australia's first migrants arrived in chains twenty years before England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland were linked in an indissouble Union in 1801. The first convicts were sent to New South Wales and Tasmania, where they had an obvious impact on the character of the new societies' evolution. By 1836, 27,831 convict immigrants were in N.S.W., 36.1 percent of the population, and 16,968 in Tasmania, 42 percent of the population.

In other parts of the continents free immigration brought large numbers of Englishmen to the Antipodes. They were mostly agricultural and other sorts of labourers, and the sorts of communities established in Victoria and South Australia, for example, were proud of their non-convict origins, and for a century at least disparaged their neighbours with odious comparisons. Melbourne became the financial capital of Australia, Adelaide the birth place of advanced social reform.

Table 2: U.K. Emigration to Australia
Occupations per 10,000 Adult Males

	1854-69	1861-70	1871-76
Commerce, Finance, Insurance & Professional	964	1,489	1,568
Skilled Trades	2,346	1,253	2,036
Transport	65	43	82
Agricultural	2,856	1,713	3,224
Other Labourers	3,367	5,173	2,427
Others	402	329	663

In the 18th and 19th centuries Australian immigration was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon and Celtic. The English, Scots, Irish and Welsh had a virtual monopoly in building up the value-systems and the political infrastructure in the new land. Such Europeans as these were stuck to the edges of the edges, and lived in rural com-

Table 3: Overseas-born in Australia, 1891
Percentage in each colony

	English	Scottish	Irish	Welsh	German	Scandinavian	Other Europeans
N.S.W.	52.2	13.0	26.3	1.8	3.3	1.6	1.8
Victoria	49.1	15.7	26.5	1.5	3.3	1.5	2.4
Qld.	45.4	13.5	26.1	1.3	9.1	3.1	1.4
S.A.	58.2	11.0	18.5	1.8	9.0	1.2	1.3
W.A. (1901)	43.0	11.3	21.6	1.7	3.2	3.1	5.7
Tasmania	60.0	13.5	20.0	1.2	3.3	1.2	0.8

munities like the Barossa Valley in South Australia, home to German migrants from the 1840s.

A census in 1891 showed to what extent the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh had a numerical superiority. It is interesting to note that the next two largest groupings were Germans and Scandinavians.

The rate of Australian immigration was directly affected by events in Europe. Into the 1840's German settlers came to the Barossa Valley to escape religious persecution. In 1848, some Irish rebels were transported to Australia after staging an Hibernian version of the 1848 revolutions. Chinese coolies came to Australian gold fields as part of the influx that accompanied the gold rushes. During the gold rush, 1851-1866, a quarter of a million people landed at Melbourne at the rate of 3,000 per week. In the 1860's, large scale land sales and public works enticed new settlers; in the 1870's there was state assistance for immigration, in the 1880's a land boom, and eventually in the earlier years of the new Commonwealth, a bank crisis led a set drop in population through immigration.

Table 4: Immigration to Australia

Years		Total	Economic Conditions
1852-61	+	520,713	Gold rush
1862-71	+	188,158	(Land sales
			– (Public works
1872-81	+	223,326	(State assistance for immigration
1882-91	+	374,097	(Land boom
			(Capital investment
1892-1901	+	2,377	–(Boom burst
1902-04	–	8,104	(Bank crisis

By the beginning of World War I, 43 percent of total immigration was assisted from the United Kingdom.

Table 5: Government (assisted) Immigration into Australia from the United Kingdom, 1905-1914

	N.S.W.	Qld.	Vic.	S.A.	W.A.	Tas.	Total	Total Immigr.
1905	–	151	–	–	314	–	465	4.5
1906	590	352	–	–	655	–	1,597	13.7
1907	2,917	1,176	127	–	949	–	5,169	33.2
1908	3,048	1,975	360	–	1,136	–	6,519	31.8
1909	4.308	3,501	652	–	1,359	–	9.820	34.3
1910	5,058	6,918	1,690	–	4,049	–	17,715	46.4
1911	9.922	12,876	6,772	665	9,562	–	39,796	57.8
1912	14,956	6,462	15,112	3,212	6,997	28	46,767	52.9
1913	9,863	4,757	12,146	2,759	7,708	215	37,448	49.5
1914	5,624	4,096	7,496	644	1,729	185	19,774	43.6

The policy of concentrating on assisted immigration from the United Kingdom resumed after World War I, and continued through the inter-war years, with an unchallenged assumption that immigration to Australia ought to be white. The Imperial Conference on Immigration decided in London in 1921 that the white population of the Empire should be redistributed.

World War II changed immigration policy forever. In 1941, Prime Minister Curtin still proclaimed the White Australia policy. Few disputed Curtin's claim "that this country shall remain forever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race. Our laws have proclaimed the principle of a White Australia. We intend to maintain that principle".

The architect of post war immigration policy was Arthur Calwell the Labour Party Minister for Immigration.

In March 1945, the British and Australian governments signed an agreement which began a new intensive free and assisted passage scheme for British residents wishing to migrate to Australia. Arthur Calwell explained: "we cannot continue to hold our island continent for ourselves unless we greatly increase our numbers. We are but 7,000,000 people and we hold 3,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface".

It was obvious that by concentrating on U.K. immigration, Australia was losing out on the benefits to be derived from attracting non-English speaking European migrants. Accordingly, policy was changed and non-U.K. residents were assisted to Australia, , with the proviso that, as Calwell put it, "for every foreign migrant there will be ten from the United Kingdom".

The settlement of southern European "new Australians" as they were politely called, greatly affected the style and quality of life in Australia, and changed it from stuffy humdrum provincial British to trendy cosmopolitan. The Anglo-Saxon-Celtic hegemony disappeared under an onslaught of spaghetti and octopus. By 1969 278,000 Italians and 164,000 Greeks had migrated to Australia. By the 1980's there are said to be more Greeks in Melbourne than in Athens, and Adelaide had better Italian restaurants than much of Rome. The post World War II immigrants came because of the poverty in their native lands, which had been the ravaged battle ground for the forces of communism and fascism.

The Labour-initiated immigration share was continued by Menzies and the Liberal Country Party. By 1969, 2,080,600 immigrants had arrived, and they were of mixed ethnic origin. 42 percent were British, 25 percent Southern European, 15 percent from Eastern Europe (including 35,000 from the Baltic states), 12 percent from Northern Europe, (including 12,000 Scandinavians) and 3 percent from Asia and Oceania, and the rest from the United States and Lebanon.

Apart from U.K. and non-U.K. European immigrants, Australia took a large number of what were impolitely referred to as "refos". These 'Displaced Persons' comprised one-third of the total in January 1951- 160,000 out of 460,000 new settlers. The Minister of Immigration, Harold Holt, kept close watch on the DPs, who were "under contract with the government" and worked in timber-felling, sawmilling, forestry, railway construction, road works, water storage and electricity generation.

Table 6: Net Australian Immigration, 1 July 1947 - 30 June 1969

Ethnic Origin		Estimated Numbers	Total Immigration	Assisted
British:				
U.K., Eire	798,000			
New Zealand	47,100			
Canada	8,000			
Other	27,800			
Total:		880,900	42.3	84.0
Nthn. Europe:				
Netherlands	111,000			
Germany	83,000			
Scandinavia	12,000			
Other	42,000			
Total:		248,000	11.9	67.5
Estn. Europe:				
Yugoslavia	100,00			
Poland	82,400			
Baltic States	35,200			
Hungary	31,500			
Russia	27,500			
Other	30,500	107,100	14.8	65.0
Sthn. Europe:				
Italy	278,000			
Greece	164,600			
Malta	60,000			
Other	16,600			
Total:		519,200	25.0	24.5
Asia, Oceania:				
Total:		55,000	2.6	3.3
Other:				
U.S.A.	21,000			
Lebanon	17,000			
Other	32,400			
Total:		70,000	3.4	21.5
Total Net Settle Migration		2,080,600	100.0	60.9
Australian-born Loss		- 156,700		
Net Total Migration		1,923,900		

In the late 1950s a major change to Australian immigration policy occurred when Asian immigration began and the White Australia policy was abandoned. The administrative mechanism to prevent non-Europeans from entering Australia was a "dictation

test". In 1958, the dictation test was abolished and the system of entry permit inaugurated.

Both Labour and Liberal governments stuck to the White Australia policy until a sign of the new times was the appearance in 1962 of a pressure group, "the Immigration Reform Group," who produced a pamphlet which pointed out the goodwill to be gained, especially in newly independent Asian nations of the region, in dropping the White Australia policy.

Table 7: Australian Net Migration

	1947-51	1951-61	1961-66	1966-71	1971-74	Total
British	41.4	32.6	54.7	53.9	61.6	45.4
North Europe	7.5	26.3	0.8	4.9	0.5	11.2
East Europe	37.3	5.0	6.6	13.3	6.1	13.2
South Europe	11.5	33.1	29.4	11.3	0.9	20.9
Asia	1.6	2.3	5.2	11.2	22.7	6.4
Africa	0.1	0.2	1.5	1.5	2.0	0.9
America	0.5	0.4	1.8	3.8	7.4	2.0
Other (Pacific etc.)	0.1	0.1	–	0.1	0.1	–
Total Foreign	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Annual Av	116.089	83,253	92,051	121,284	66,194	94,894

Finally, Australia's newest group of immigrants, to arrive in significant numbers are the refugees from Indo-China, many of whom came to Australia in small boats and arrived raped and robbed, to be welcomed and sprayed with disinfectant at Darwin. The "boat people," displaced refugees, are admitted by a reluctant government in the face of hostile public opinion as part of our guilty conscience about the Australian role in the Vietnam war. The number of Asian immigrants is relatively small, but their obvious ethnic difference could result in racial tension in the future.

SCANDINAVIANS IN AUSTRALIA; A GENERAL REVIEW

Olavi Koivukangas

Introduction

After the Germans, the next most important foreign infusion to Australia's early population came from the Scandinavian countries; here obviously lies a gap in Australian as well as in Scandinavian research. The aim of this paper is to outline the major features of Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia from the earliest days of European penetration until the present and to give some ideas of the demographic profile and integration of these immigrants.

In any study the first task is to review prior research. Before my studies the only comprehensive works on Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand were the books by JENS LYNG. He emigrated from Denmark to Australia in 1891 and in 1896 founded the newspaper, *Norden*, of which he was editor for the first 10 years. He had a varied journalistic and civil-servant career and was the author of several books, both scholarly and literary. Lyng's main works are two books. The first, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, published in 1927, gives an outline history of the non-British element in Australia, including Scandinavians, although the chapter about the Finns is very short and inaccurate. However, this book provides a summary history of each ethnic minority and throws light upon the contribution of non-Britishers to the populating and developing of Australia. Lyng's main work, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, published in 1939, is a general history of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in Australia, emphasizing the first group, the author's own countrymen. It contains valuable observations on their assimilation and provides biographical sketches of prominent Scandinavians in Australia.

After Lyng the only systematic research of Scandinavians in Australia is Olavi Koivukangas, *Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II*. This study is based on archival data, mainly on naturalization records, on census and official statistics and on newspapers, literary sources and personal documents. Also street directories, local histories, manuscripts, interviews, etc., were utilized to enlarge and illustrate the story after official statistics and data revealed the patterns of immigration and settlement. Thus a combined demographic and historical approach was used, as this kind of topic requires a dual approach. This study, accepted as a Ph.D. Thesis by Australian National University in Canberra, in 1972 and published in Finland in 1974, is the basis for the following presentation on Scandinavians in Australia.

To see Scandinavian migration to Oceania in a broader setting, we have already had Dr. Hans Norman's paper on Scandinavian overseas emigration. More than 90 per cent of Scandinavian emigrants went to North America. Only a trickle of Scandinavian emigration reached the remote coast of Australia and New Zealand.

Early History

The beginnings of the history of Scandinavians in Australian waters can be traced back to the crews of Abel Tasman and other Dutch navigators of the unknown coasts of *Terra Australis Incognita* in the era of Dutch exploration in the 17th century. When, in the 18th century, maritime hegemony shifted from the Dutch to the British, Scandinavians followed the change. However, it was not the seamen adventurers but the scientists who were the next to "write" a chapter in the story.

When James Cook raised the British flag on the eastern coast of the unknown continent in 1770, he was accompanied by two Scandinavian scientists: Dr. D.C. Solander, a Swede, and H.D. Spöring from Turku, Finland. As scientists they belonged to the escort of Captain Cook, and Lyng duly emphasized that a Scandinavian put his foot on Australian soil simultaneously with the discoverer himself. While Dr. Solander is well known in the Cook literature, Herman Dietrich Spöring has only during the past few years received the attention due him. A reason for this has been that Spöring died of a tropical disease on the return trip in January 1771. Recently a street has been named after Spöring in Canberra, and I will get in touch with the city of Turku to see that Spöring's name is kept alive here in similar fashion.

The best known of the early Scandinavians in Australia was a Dane, Jorgen Jorgenson, called "The King of Iceland" and "Convict King," briefly described by Marcus Clarke as "one of the most interesting human comets recorded in history." This gallant figure of stirring romance and adventure was born in Copenhagen in 1780. He went to sea early sailing under the British flag. In 1798 he travelled in a whaling ship to Cape Town and a year later to Sydney, where he became the second mate of the *Lady Nelson*. He remained with this famous surveying vessel three-and-one-half years, becoming her chief officer, and attended the founding of Newcastle, Launceston and Hobart. In 1804 he became, at the age of 24, a captain, and then as chief officer on the *Alexander*, became a pioneer of the Tasmanian whaling industry and sailed for London with a full cargo. Jorgenson had fabulous adventures during the Napoleonic wars. He was a confirmed gambler and after having pawned some furniture from his lodgings, was sentenced to death, but he was finally transported to Van Diemen's Land, arriving in Hobart in 1826, some twenty three years after his first visit at the founding of Hobart. The next year, he was given a ticket of leave, so he enlisted as a constable in the Field Police, catching criminals and engaging in operations of the famous "Black War" against the Tasmanian aborigines. In 1831 Jorgenson married an Irish convict woman and embarked on the greatest adventure of his life. He died in 1841 in Hobart, but his place of burial is unknown. Jorgenson was much more than an adventurer. He was master of several languages and author of half a dozen books, manuscripts and articles. He was one of the most remarkable convicts ever to be consigned to Australia's shores.

Jorgenson was not the only Scandinavian convict to arrive in Australia. Moreover, there were also Scandinavians among the early free settlers. An example of these prominent settlers were the Norwegian Archer brothers and the Dane, Edward Knox, the founder of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Altogether, quite a number of Scandinavians had settled in the Australian colonies, as is especially evident from the early street directories of Sydney and Melbourne, when the gold area of the 1850's saw the first important influx of Scandinavians.

Scandinavians in the Goldfields

Scandinavian seamen and those already in the Californian fields were the first to respond to the call of gold in 1851. Interest in Australian gold was particularly great in Denmark, where the Three Year War of Schleswig-Holstein had just ended, causing a spirit of restlessness and willingness to use the emigration facilities of the nearby seaport of Hamburg. Soon young Scandinavians, eager for adventure and hungry for gold, were on the long voyage to the Antipodes. Because of the dangers of the voyage and of language difficulties, Scandinavians often arrived in groups and also kept together in the goldfields. Altogether, some 5,000 Scandinavians were attracted by the Australian gold in the 1850's and 1860's. They were most numerous at Ballarat, Bendigo, McIvor and in other Victorian goldfields. Many Scandinavians were educated men, and they soon developed ethnic social activities; at Ballarat there was a Scandinavian society and even a newspaper *'Norden'* in 1857. Only two copies are known to be left at the Royal Library in Stockholm. After a shorter or longer period in the goldfields, some Scandinavians made their fortune and returned to the land of their birth; some sought other claims or engaged in a similar quest in New Zealand or even in South America; some went back to seafaring; many remained in the Australian colonies, often settling on the land, forming some ethnic congregations, the best known being the Danish settlement at East Poowong, Victoria. This change is aptly called "from mines to soil."

Peak Years

The major immigration of Scandinavians to Australia took place between 1870 and 1914. It started with the Queensland-assisted passage scheme, and, while the Tasmanian land offer attracted only a handful of Danes, assisted passages brought thousands of Scandinavians to Queensland in the 1870's and 1880's, many of them later to move to other colonies.

Simultaneously, there occurred a vigorous immigration of Scandinavian seamen who manned the ships and wharves of rapidly developing Australia. After 1890 these Australian 'pull' factors—assisted passages and good opportunities for seamen and labourers—weakened because of an economic depression, resulting in a conspicuous drop in arrivals, except to Western Australia where gold discoveries attracted many Scandinavians from the eastern colonies as well as from Europe.

At the turn of the century, assisted passages to Scandinavians were again granted for a while by the Queensland government. This group included nearly a hundred

Finnish socialists who arrived in Queensland in 1899-1900 to establish a utopian society. The venture failed and the leader, Matti Kurikka, and many of his supporters left for Canada for a similar attempt. Some of the group settled at Nambour near Brisbane to form a compact-farming group settlement.

After a relatively large immigration in the years preceding World War I, the wave receded in the 1920's, with the exception of the Finns who found it difficult to enter the United States after the quota laws of 1921 and 1924. The worldwide economic depression of the 1930's and World War II stopped immigration, and the arrival of Scandinavians to Australia was negligible until the middle of the 1950's, when the large-scale assisted passage schemes were extend to the Scandinavian countries, giving a new impetus to immigration, notably from Denmark and Finland.

Concerning the numbers of Scandinavians in Australia, it is estimated that during the gold rush period in the 1850's and 1860's there were a few thousand Scandinavians in the Australian colonies. By the late 19th century the number of Scandinavians in Australia was nearly 20,000 persons born in the Scandinavian countries. Due to mortality and lack of new arrivals, the number fell to 8365 in the Census of 1947. Mainly due to the assisted passages since the second half of the 1950's, there have been 47,000 permanent or long-term arrivals from the Scandinavian countries. Estimating that every fourth has subsequently left the country, we could assume that since the war some 35,000 Scandinavians settled in Australia, a nice contribution to the Australian multicultural population.

Settlements

As migration statistics have revealed immigration flows, census enumerations provide valuable numerical demographic data for each nationality.

Table 1: Scandinavians in Australia, Censuses 1947-76; Country of Birth

Census	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden	Total
1947					
Males	2032	1158	1745	1938	6873
Females	727	215	279	271	1492
Total	2759	1373	2024	2209	8365
1954					
Males	2128	1334	2365	1843	7670
Females	826	399	470	348	2043
Total	2954	1733	2835	2191	9713
1961					
Males	3730	3939	2525	2080	12274
Females	1924	2549	694	594	5761
Total	5654	6488	3219	2674	18035
1966					
Males	3472	3423	2429	1846	11170
Females	1929	2502	737	712	5880
Total	5401	5925	3166	2558	17050

Census	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden	Total
1971					
Males	4606	5747	2363	2433	15149
Females	2960	4612	943	1292	9807
Total	7566	10359	3306	3725	24956
1976					
Males	4215	4843	1929	2519	13506
Females	2883	4342	468	1685	9878
Total	7098	9185	2897	4204	23384

The census enumerations in Table I, as well as migration statistics,reveal that the major increase of Scandinavians to Australia took place between the years 1954 and 1961. Another feature is the preponderance of Finns, accounting for 42 per cent of all the Scandinavians in 1971 as compared with only 16 per cent in 1947. Also sex distribution, thanks to the assisted passages, became better balanced. There were relatively more Finnish females than from other Scandinavian countries, reflecting family immigration. This is also another major reason why Finns settled more permanently in Australia than the other three nationalities.

The geographic distribution of Scandinavians in various Australian States and Territories in 1971 is presented in Table II. An interesting feature is that only 18 per cent of the Scandinavians lived in Victoria as compared with 27.5 per cent of the total Australian population. For new arrivals it was not very easy to settle in Victoria, which represents one of the oldest Australian settlements, as opposed to Queensland, a larger state inhabitated relatively late. Scandinavian preference for Queensland was a historical continuance of the pre-war settlement pattern. It is also worth noting that over 10 per cent of the Finnish population lived in the Australian Capital Territory, whereas only one per cent of the total Australian population resides there.

Table II. Scandinavians in Australian States and Territories
Census 1971, Country of Birth

State/Territory	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden	Total	%	All Australian population
N.S.W.	2810	3939	1263	1430	9442	37.8	36.0
Victoria	1487	1637	672	793	4589	18.4	27.5
Queensland	1489	1973	453	614	4529	18.1	14.3
South A.	655	952	291	256	2154	8.6	9.2
Western A.	792	502	431	406	2131	8.5	8.1
Tasmania	106	164	46	70	386	1.5	3.1
North Ter.	129	110	38	82	359	1.4	0.7
A.C.T.	98	1082	112	74	1366	5.5	1.1
Australia	7566	10359	3306	3725	24956	99.8	100.0

This was due to the rapid growth of the Federal Capital, giving good opportunities especially to the Finns, many of whom were carpenters and construction workers.

Scandinavians were scattered all over Australia, and their settlement can best be called infiltration settlement, where migrants arriving individually found a niche for themselves, as distinct from organized group settlements. Only Danes and Finns had any substantial group settlement resulting from chain-migration.

In occupation adjustment a low status background affected absorption into the Australian economic system. Most Scandinavians belonged to lower social strata; the maritime occupations, general labouring, farming, and skilled craftsmanship accounted for almost threequarters of all the listed occupations of male settlers naturalized before 1947. The Danes had the highest occupational status, and the Finns the lowest. While the Danes often preferred farming, the other three nationalities tended to prefer maritime occupations. The most valuable contribution in the development of Australia has been that of Scandinavian seamen, farmers, miners and carpenters.

Allegiance

Table III. Birthplace by Nationality, Census 1971

Birthplace	Nationality				
	British %	Same as birthplace	Other nationality	Total %	N
Denmark	39	53	8	100	7566
Finland	29	65	6	100	10359
Norway	41	50	9	100	3306
Sweden	28	59	13	100	3725
Scandinavia	33	59	8	100	24956

Concerning the allegiance of the Scandinavian settlers as measured by the Census of 1971, every third Scandinavian-born immigrant had acquired Australian or British citizenship by 1971. The Finns had maintained their original allegiance better than the other three nationalities. The main reason for this was that the Finns represented the newest Scandinavian immigration to Australia.

Newest Immigration from Scandinavia

In the 1970's Scandinavian emigration to Australia was quite negligible. This was partly due to severe limitations on entries by the Australian Government, which was motivated by the unemployment situation there. On the other hand, in the first half of the 1970's the economic situation in Scandinavian was relatively good, at least compared with the periods of heavy emigration in the late 1950's and 1960's.

Since 1 January 1979 Australia used a new system of selecting people for immigration. A main reason for establishing this new Numerical Multifactor Assesment System

(NUMAS) was to ensure that immigrants selected had the best possible chance for succesful settlement. According to the NUMAS, each applicant or each member of the family over 16 years had to score a minium number of points to be accepted for migration. It remains to be seen how NUMAS has affected Scandinavian emigration to Australia. And now the NUMAS-system is under revision. Mr. Jan Reksten from the Australian Embassy in Stockholm will tell us later about the new features of Australian immigration policy.

Demographic Features

Demographically, most Scandinavian immigrants were young adults on arrival. Secondly, they provide for a very uneven sex distribution: one female to three males among Danes and one female to ten males among the other three nationalities. Due to the scarcity of new immigration, the Scandinavian-born populations aged rapidly; by 1947 most of the old settlers had died, an exception being the Finns who had received relatively strong reinforcements of new blood in the 1920s. A large proportion of the Scandinavian male population remained unmarried, and those married in most cases had wives of British origin. Intermarriage was less frequent among Finns and Danes, indicating that they assimilated slower than the Swedes and Norwegians.

Ethnicity and Acculturation

Ethnic institutions - societies, churches, and press - were weak among the Scandinavians and, partly as a result, the English language rapidly became predominent, except for the Finns in the group settlements of northern Queensland where they were in the first stage of adjustment between the wars. Longevity of ethnic institutions and retention of language are considered important factors in social and cultural adjustment; these were strongest among Finns and Danes, suggesting that these two groups assimilated more slowly than did Swedes and Norwegians. Even in northern Queensland, Scandinavian-Australian institutions did not reach the majority of Scandinavian settlers, so little was done to assist them in maintaining ethnic identity. The observations of a New Zealand historian (Lochore) that Scandinavians melted away into the British population like snow on the Wellington hills also holds good for Australia. Finnish settlers lagged somewhat behind, however, partly because of language differences and partly because of more substantial group settlements.

To sum up, it is held that Scandinavians in Australia assimilated quickly, significant basic factors being the similarity of the British and Scandinavian social and cultural inheritance, and the ease with which most Scandinavians could learn the English language. Moreover, the structure of Scandinavian population, with its marked surplus of young males, resulted in extensive inter-marriage; dispersed settlement and lack of strong national feelings manifested in ethnic institutions also favoured assimilation. However, the major cause of rapid assimilation was the absence of continuous immigration and the weakening of direct contacts with the countries of origin, resulting in many isolated Scandinavian settlers totally exposed to the influence of the surrounding society. Among people such as Scandinavians, constant immigration is essential for the persistence of a minority group.

II FIELD WORK IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND IN 1980–82

SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. A PRELIMINARY REPORT.

Ulf Beijbom
Emigrant Institute
Växjö, Sweden

1. The General Situation after Ulf Beijbom's Visit in 1980

The Emigrant Institute of Sweden and The Migration Institute of Finland are in charge of a program dealing with Scandinavian emigration to Australia and New Zealand. This "Emigration to the Antipodes Project" is financially supported by the Nordic Council in Copenhagen, The Salén Foundation of Stockholm and The Turnbull Library Research Fund in Wellington have supported the initial phase of the project. Our primary goal is to collect written records and to interview people with direct or indirect knowledge of the emigration from Scandinavia to Australia/New Zealand (oral history).

These forms of field research have been practiced by the Emigrant Institute in the US and Canada during twelve years when the field archivist Lennart Setterdahl was permanenty engaged in the areas of Swedish settlement in North America. Like in America we intend to microfilm documents (letters, diaries, life stories, newspaper clippings), copy interesting photos and produce cassette tapes with interviews. We also plan to enlarge the statistical and social scope of Olavi Koivukangas' Ph.D. research (*Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II*, 1974). By help of archives, libraries, universities and other central institutions we shall try to broaden our knowledge of the demographic and social characteristics of Scandinavian immigration. We are also interested in more recent periods of migration where Finns were particulary strong and Dr. Koivukangas is in the process of writing a book on Finnish emigration to Australia. Our "Emigration to the Antipodes Project" does not in this phase involve scholarly papers or dissertations. We are simply concentrating ourselves on collecting written and oral sources. But of course we nourish the hope that migration specialists and students in Scandinavia and Australia/New Zealand shall be using the accumulated material and a few years from now produce papers, dissertations and popular books.

The researchers in charge of our program are themselves a fine guarantee for a scholarly penetration of the results: the doctors Ulf Beijbom, Ivo Holmqvist, Olavi Koivukangas and Allan T. Nilsson are all wellknown scholars with a large production

in the migration field. The contacts established with the academic world of Australia and New Zealand is another guarantee for the quality of the project. As the project coordinator I visited Australia and New Zealand from November 5 to December 16, 1980. The purpose of my journey was to inform about the project and to establish contacts with Scandinavians or descendants of immigrants from Scandinavia. I consequently met with individual persons and different types of Scandinavian organizations as well as scholars in the migration field, archivists, librarians, museum people and administrators of the contemporary immigration to Australia. I lectured, gave seminars, studied archives, libraries and museums and met informally with individuals and groups.

The lasting impression from my hundreds of contacts in Australia and New Zealand is an overwhelming interest, not to say enthusiasm, for the project both in professional and the Scandinavian circles. In Melbourne, for instance, under chairmanship of Dr. John S. Martin of the University of Melbourne a committee was formed with the purpose to assist our project. The Swedish Church of Melbourne and its pastor Håkan Eilert (D.D. from University of Uppsala, Sweden) promised cooperation and support. Dr. Eilert has just concluded a large manuscript on the history of his centennial-old church. We hope to publish this scholarly work as a part of our project.

In Sydney Mr. James L. Sanderson stands out as the key person of our research. Since a couple of years he is extracting all personal data found about Scandinavians in the ship lists of the port of Sydney. Sanderson's card catalogue contains ca 5000 names for the period 1829-1870. Most likely this figure will be trippeled before the energetic researcher reaches the year 1914. Sanderson compliments his catalogue by extracts from naturalization lists. This work is of fundamental value since only a minority of the early migrants to Australia/New Zealand are recorded in Scandinavian passport lists and other statistics.

Ambassador Sten Aminoff's research and planned book on ca 3000 Swedes who immigrated in New Zealand will of the same reason play an indispensable role for our knowledge of Scandinavian conditions in New Zealand. Mr. Mac Larsen's research on Norwegians and Danes in The Seventy Mile Bush is also incorporated as part of our project.

Sanderson generously devoted all his time to assist me during my week in Sydney. He also declared himself willing to function as "The Antipodes Project's" contact center in N.S.W. All information you consider important for the project should accordingly be forwarded to Sanderson, especially if it is pertinent to N.S.W.

The Swedish Chamber of Commerce for Australia and New Zealand with headquarters in Sydney has expressed interest in the research and is prepared to give practical and financial help. The Scandinavian Club of Canberra (president: I. Real Jones), The Swedish Club (president: Maud Edmiston) and The Scandinavian Association of Perth (president: S. Gustafsson) have likewise offered their support.

In New Zealand the Scandinavian Clubs of Auckland, Palmerston North, Christchurch, The Swedish Club of Wellington and the genealogical societies of Auckland and Christchurch will become of importance for our field researcher there, Dr. Ivo Holmqvist. An outstanding resource person in New Zealand is Mr. Mac Larsen, the New Zealand-Scandinavian layman-historian par preference and the founder of the very active Scandinavian Club of Palmerston North and the one in Dannevirke. I

could benefit from his knowledge during an unforgetable tour of Scandinavian towns in the former Seventy Mile Bush. Three other important specialists on this area are Mr. George Nikolaison of Masterton, Mr. Bengt Fromén of Foxton and Mr. Jon Erenstrom of Raumata Beach. It would lead too far to mention all private persons who have expressed interest and willingness to help. Some names are, however, listed below.

Nearly all universities with migration research projects or Scandinavian programs were visited during my sejour in Australia/New Zealand. Of specific importance were my meetings with "the grand old men" of modern Australian migration research, the professors Charles Price (demography) and Jerzy Zubrzycki (sociology) at the Australian National University in Canberra. Professor Price's interest in Scandinavian immigration goes back to his years as the tutor of Olavi Koivukangas and Professor Zubrzycki who visited Sweden in 1979, has included Scandinavians in several of his books. The chairman of the Germanic Languages Dept of the National University Professor Hans Kuhn (a specialist in the Swedish language) has promised his support. Goulborn College of Advanced Education in Goulborn, N.S.W. is most interested in establishing an ethnic study program involving Scandinavian immigrants. This was discussed when I visited the college. The History Dept of the University of Sydney (chairman, Professor Ian Jack) is offering academic connections in this important city for Scandinavian immigration. I was given the opportunity to present the project at a seminar arranged by the department on November 7.

The Center for Migrant Studies at Monash University is the most advanced interdisciplinary migration research group in Australia which makes it especially satisfying when chairman Professor John McKay promises support and co-operation. More important results of the project may be presented in their new magazine *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Professor Ronald Goldman of La Trobe University and his Institute for Immigration and Ethnic Studies also expressed interest when I gave a seminar there on November 20, 1980. As mentioned before Professor John Martin of the Germanic Languages Dept, University of Melbourne is a central person for all activities in Melbourne and vicinity due to his willingness to chair a supporting committee and his initiative to establish a Scandinavian Archive in Melbourne. Dr. Michael Cigler of Hawthorn State College has started a Swedish Community Research Project in which his students are engaged in interviews and other contacts with Swedish immigrants. Mrs. Rita Johannsen has promised public-relation support in her fine magazine *The Scandinavian Courier*, issued from Melbourne to Scandinavians all over Australia.

A migration scholar of the same significance as Professor Price and Zubrzycki is Professor Richard T. Appleyard, chairman of the Dept of Economics at the University of Western Australia in Perth. He and members of his department are prepared to render scholarly assistance in Western Australia. The Swedish lecturer at the University of Auckland and the chairman of the Philosophy Dept, Professor Christer Segerberg are two persons of importance in New Zealand.

The leading archives and research libraries in Australia and New Zealand met me with the same kind of generosity as the universities. The National Archives of both countries are prepared to give us access to the general series of population and immigration statistics. The same is true for the two leading research libraries of the

Antipodes and Oceania, The Turnbull Library of Wellington and The Mitchell Library of Sydney. The wholehearted support of Mr. Jim Traue, director of The Turnbull Library and for years an important supporter of Ambassador Sten Aminoff's research in New Zealand, is especially worth mentioning. The National Library of Australia in Canberra and The Battye Library in Perth are also prepared to give assistance. The Swedish Embassy to Australia (Ambassador Lars Hedström) and the Swedish Consulate General in Sydney (Consul General Karl-Erik Andersson) and Consul John Harris in Hobart gave me generous assistance in Canberra, Sydney and Hobart. Consul Hans Björklund in Auckland offered me an opportunity to present the project to significant people at a reception in his home.

2. How can you assist us?

Many people in Australia and New Zealand expressed their wish to give us a practical hand in our efforts to map out the personal aspects of Scandinavian immigration. They met me with the question: How can I help you?

As reflected in Koivukangas' book the Scandinavian presence in Australia and New Zealand has always been extremely thin and fragile, this due to the small number of immigrants and their quick integration in society and language. Except for The Seventy Mile Bush of New Zealand and possibly Queensland it is next to impossible to single out examples of group settlement and Scandinavian enclaves. In contrast to 19th Century America no Scandinavian subculture was ever rooted in Australia/New Zealand. Jens Lyng, the only Scandinavian-Australian historian, complained about the difficulties to gather information as early as at the time of WWI. The research situation is of course still more complicated now, 90-100 years after the peak of Danish-Norwegian-Swedish immigration (The Finnish immigration is of late date, mostly after WW II, why the research situation is more favourable here). How shall we be able to locate descendants of these immigrants and ship disserters? It will be impossible without the assistance of people with good local contacts and insights on "the grassroot level".

Our people will be there too short time to be able to make complicated personal observations. Therefore we need your help to establish address registers of people who can be interested or on people with documents from the immigration epoch. Even if this will be achieved the time will not allow us to make too many interviews. It will therefore be highly welcomed if some of you, as you indicated when we met, are willing to make the interviews yourself. To facilitate this a questionnaire is reproduced in form A.

Although personal data are extremely important the questions should not be mechanically followed but be adjusted to the informant and his/hers wishes to follow a certain pattern when telling their story. The interview situation must not be locked but allow the freedom necessary for a good result. The informant must, however, be prevented from making to many "excurses", the interviewers shall with mild hand do their best to keep the informant "on the track" given by the questionnaire. A cassette recorder should be used rather then the old type with long bands. The interview should if possible be limited to one tape (Cassette C 60 preferred). We are

prepared to reemburse you for the cost of tapes. Hopefully a recorder can be borrowed from a school or any other kind of institution.

Most people with recollections worth being taped possess records of historical interest such as letters, diaries, photos, clippings or books. It is important that the interviewers asks about memorabilia in forms of documents or objects. They should be examined and listed in the way described by form B. If you limit yourself to acquiring names on persons of interest to the project, perhaps you could ask around for personal archives and list them in the way form B indicates. Archive inventories are extremely time consuming. It is therefore likely that our people can only touch the surface. Assistance by persons with local knowledge will therefore be essential. Please help us here! Once-in-a-while you will come upon a large collection, a club or a church archive, which, of course, is extremely valuable and should be carefully described. The goal of our archive inventories in America has always been to photocopy important records, thereby preserving them at a central location for future research. The goal is the same in Australia/New Zealand. We hope that we shall be allowed to xeroxise smaller and microfilm larger collections. It is therefore important to find out if the material can be microfilmed later.

James Sanderson's painstaking work with the Sydney ship lists and naturalization records has been briefly described. The same kind of tapping the main series if immigration records on their information about Scandinavians has to be started in Melbourne and Brisbane. It is our hope to find people willing to devote energy to this timeconsuming but interesting work. Since so many of the early Scandinavians in Australia/New Zealand were disserters from ships they are not recorded as emigrants in Scandinavian sources which makes Australian and New Zealand records extremely important. Without ship lists, censuses and naturalization acts it is impossible to pinpoint the Scandinavian portion of immigration to Australia/New Zealand.

I will finally extend my thanks to all fantastic Australians and New Zealanders who made my journey in November-December 1980 successful and enjoyable. The one-and-half month spent in the Antipodes represent one of the highlights of my life. The strange beauty of the nature and the fact that Sweden's cold November was exchanged in Summer made my expedition marvelous.

FORM A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The informant's name, date and place of birth, profession and address.
Date and place for the interview.
Name of the interviewer.

I. Background Conditions

What do you know about your/the emigrant's background in the old country?
Name, profession and economic conditions of the emigrant's parents.
Had other members of the family emigrated before and where to?

II. The Emigration

Did the emigrant arrive as a passenger on a vessel?
Did he jump ship - how long did he have to hide away?

Did he/she arrive alone or with friends?
Did he/she have friends/relatives who already lived in Australia/New Zealand?

III. The First Time as an Emigrant
Where was the first time spent?
How was the emigrant received by Australians/New Zealanders?
How did he/she get the first job?
How was the language situation experienced?
How did the emigrant learn English?
Did he/she keep up contacts with the old country?
Did the emigrant change his name and why?

IV. Integration in the Immigrant Society
Where there any Scandinavian contacts or did the emigrant purposely cut off all Scandinavian connections?
Describe the emigrant's professional career.
Marriage, children and family situation.
Social and political contacts and viewpoints.
When did the emigrant take out citizenship and of what reason? Why did he/she not naturalize?
Can/could the emigrant speak the old language in his/hers later years?
What does the emigrant think about his emigration, did he win or lose by leaving the old country?
Attitudes towards contemporary immigration/immigrants.
Are any kind of letters or photos preserved?

FORM B: INVENTORY FORM
Name and address of the owner or keeper of the archive. When did he/she arrive to this country.
What is the relation of the owner/keeper to the person/persons described by the archive?
Name of the person who is doing the inventory.
Date.

I. Letters (number, addresses and dates, names of correspondents)
II. Diaries, life stories or other types of manuscripts (dates, names of the author, number of pages)
III. Photos (number and from when)
IV. Printed material such as newspaper clippings, emigrant guides, bibles and other books from "the old country" (printed when and where, rubric and date of an article)
V. Other types of memorabilia

Can the collection be copied?
(Smaller collections shall be xeroxised while microfilming seems to be the best procedure for larger collections).

FIELD WORK IN AUSTRALIA
February 9 – April 30, 1981

Olavi Koivukangas

Preface

Scandinavian immigration to and settlement in Australia and New Zealand has long been a neglected area in the field of migration research. One reason for this has been the remoteness of the countries and the difficulties in obtaining relevant material. Consequently, the Emigrant Institute of Sweden, in Växjö, and the Institute of Migration, in Turku, Finland, have collaborated for a few years to promote research on Scandinavian emigration to Australia and New Zealand. At a conference held in 1978 in Växjö, it was decided to launch a joint Scandinavian "Emigration to the Antipodes Project," financially supported by the Nordic Council in Copenhagen. Other funds have come from sources in Sweden and Finland.

As part of the project, Dr. Ulf Beijbom, from the Emigrant Institute in Växjö, visited Australia and New Zealand from November 5 to December 16, 1980 to make the project known and to establish contacts. My visit to Australia from February to April 1981 was the first field work, and was followed by trips by two Scandinavian scholars later in the years 1981-82.

1. Aims

The principal purpose of the journey was to collect information especially about the Finns in Australia mainly for my present research on "Finns in Australia before WW II". I had already accumulated a lot of material as a student at the Australian National University in Canberra in 1969-72 for my Ph.D. thesis, "Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before WW II" In the second place, I wished to renew my old contacts with Australian universities, archives, research centers, etc., and to make new contacts with institutions established since my departure from Australia in 1972. In Canberra, where I was invited to become a visiting fellow at the National University, I wished to learn about the state of present Australian immigration policy and about the future prospects. In short, the aim was to develop collaboration with Australian institutions in migration research and other related areas.

Third, I had a special assignment from the Finnish Ministry of Education to look into the possibilities of starting instruction in the Finnish language in some Australian university. At the moment Finnish is taught in 60 institutions in 21 countries, but not

in Australia at the university level. However, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and even Icelandic are taught in Australian universities. I have written a special report about my observations for the Ministry of Education.

2. Field Work, State by State

As my study will cover Australia as a whole, I decided to visit every state and capital city, starting from Brisbane, in Queensland, and ending at Perth, in Western Australia.

a. Queensland

For well over a hundred years, Scandinavians have settled in sunny Queensland. Most of my two weeks' visit in Brisbane in February 1981 I spent in the Queensland State Archives at Dutton Park. The State Archivist, Mr. P.D. Wilson, and his staff were most helpful. I worked mainly on the naturalization records, shipping arrivals, land orders and electoral rolls. The State Library of Queensland, and especially the Oxley Library, which is a part of the main library, promised to do research, upon request, if, for example, the name of a person could be given to them. To supplement the material available in the Finnish ethnic archives, I visited the *Finlandia News* office and the Finnish congregation, which had some information on the Finnish Seamen's Mission, which had been maintained in Australia since 1916.

At the University of Queensland, the best contact would probably be Professor John Western in the Department of Sociology. The most helpful person was the librarian of Queensland University, Mr. Spencer Routh. With him I made arrangements to have the most important studies photocopied.

In addition to visiting archives and libraries, I gathered oral history by interviewing old Finnish settlers in Brisbane and Nambour. At the turn of century, a number of utopian socialists inspired by Matti Kurikka, who himself spent nearly a year in Australia, established a farming community near Nambour. The most valuable sources of information at this place were Mr. Einari Savimäki and Mrs. Hilma Weston. The latter had arrived as a child there over 80 years ago. From her and other old settlers, I was able to obtain old photographs, books, a travel trunk and other things for future displays. Naturally, these things had to be sent by surface mail later.

At the Finnish hall in Brisbane, I gave a lecture with picture slides on the history of Finns in Australia. I was also interviewed by *Finlandia News* and by the Finnish ethnic radio in Brisbane.

b. New South Wales

Sydney

The distance of 1000 km from Brisbane to Sydney I traveled by bus on a Sunday and was met by Mr. James L. Sanderson, a permanent representative of the Scandinavian research project in Australia. A retired second-generation Swede, Mr. Sanderson has been extracting information for a couple of years about Scandinavians in the New South Wales naturalization and shipping records preserved in the State Archives.

Accordingly, he will also be collecting information about Finns; this saved me a much time, as I had only a week for Sydney. To go through all the shipping lists would have taken months, and I felt very strongly that there should be a person like Mr. Sanderson in every Australian state.

I paid a visit to the University of Macquarie and found their migrant and continuing education programs highly interesting. At the Department of History of the University of Sydney I gave a seminar on Scandinavian and Finnish immigration to Australia. The local Finnish radio was interested in interviewing me about the project. Naturally, I interviewed old Finns and their descendants, besides which I also obtained original documents and interesting items for a future emigrants exhibition to be held in Turku.

Goulburn

On the way from Sydney to Canberra, I stopped for a night at Goulburn College of Advanced Education, where I held a seminar. I found Mrs. Barbara Osmond and her colleagues very much interested in the Scandinavian-Australian project. Especially Mrs. Helen Smith, a second-generation Dane, would be interested in interviewing Scandinavians if this could be arranged in cooperation with, e.g., Mr. J.L. Sanderson of Sydney.

Australian Capital Territory (Canberra)

Being a visiting fellow at the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, I had a room and phone there, and I lived in a university flat for a couple of weeks while in Canberra. The Department of Demography there, especially under Dr. Charles A. Price, is a leading Australian institution from the standpoint of any international collaboration in the field of migration research. There I held a seminar dealing with the Scandinavian-Australian project and my own research on the Finns in Australia.

In addition to the material at the National Library in Canberra, the Commonwealth Archives also have passenger lists and the naturalization records of Victoria and South Australia dating back to before the year 1904. I had some difficulties working in these archives, as the institution was just moving to a new building in the suburb of Mitchell.

Being also interested in present migratory movements, the Embassy of Finland had kindly arranged for me an opportunity to meet Mr. John Menadue, the Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, and members of his staff. In 1979, Australia adopted the NUMAS-system, which is quite similar to the Canadian system of scoring points on the basis of trade, language ability, etc. I was told that this system was now under revision and that in the future the intake would probably be somewhat greater (about 100,000 a year) than at present (70 - 80,000). However, there are about one million applications from all over the world to migrate to Australia. The main discussion concerned the educational problems of immigrants; and later I had an opportunity to meet the key persons in this field from the Australian Ministry of Education. An interesting person to meet was Mr. Al Grasby, a former

Minister of Immigration and present head of the Office of Community Relations.

In Canberra, I had the pleasure of meeting a number of old friends, including Professor Manning Clark, who visited Finland in 1972. In 1980, he was appointed the "Australian of the Year." Another friend, Professor Hans Kuhn, head of the Department of Germanic Studies at the A.N.U., is also teaching the Swedish language there, and with him we examined the possibilities of also teaching Finnish at the Australian National University.

While in Canberra, I naturally visited the Embassy of Finland and the magnificent Finnish Club of Canberra. For the local Finnish community, I gave a lecture on the history of Finns in Australia. I was interviewed by the local Finnish paper, *Suomi* and by the *Canberra Times*. The Finnish radio and the national ethnic radio of Australia were interested in obtaining information about my visit to Australia.

From Canberra, I paid a visit to a Finnish family who some years ago had settled on a farm near Tumut, by the Kosciusko National Park. In Sydney and Canberra, as well as in Brisbane, I had a Volvo car at my disposal through compliments of Volvo Australia Ltd.

On the whole, I should really have had a few extra days to spend in the Australian Capital Territory.

c. Victoria

For field work in Victoria, I had eight days. I started in Melbourne by interviewing old Finnish settlers, especially seamen. In the Public Records Office, Victoria, I went through the Registers of Deserters, which was started as early as 1857. Passenger arrivals also start from the 1850's, but to go through meters of extensive volumes would take a long time, and I hope that we could have somebody pick out the Scandinavians from these passenger lists at a later date.

In Melbourne, I found the contacts with the local universities very useful. I started with the University of Melbourne by visiting Dr. J.S. Martin, an old friend, who teaches Swedish and is interested in the history of the Scandinavians in Australia. He and his colleague Mark Garner are planning to do some research on "Scandinavian Settlers and Communities in Victoria". I hope these two scholars could act as contacts in Victoria in the same way as Mr. J.L. Sanderson in New South Wales. With Martin and Garner, I discussed the matter of having Finnish taught at the University of Melbourne; the prospects seem to be favourable, especially as both Martin and Garner are interested in learning Finnish personally after having already gained command of other Scandinavian languages.

In addition to the University of Melbourne, I visited Latrobe University, where the Center for Migrant Studies commanded my special interest. At the Migrant Studies Centre of Monash University, I conducted a seminar on Scandinavian/Finnish immigration to Australia. I also made a short visit to the Institute of Multicultural Affairs, which was established in Melbourne in 1979. In the Clearing House on Migration Issues, I ordered quite a number of publications on Australian and international migrations.

From Melbourne, I made a short trip with friends to Ballarat and found the Gold Rush Museum highly interesting, for many Scandinavians participated in the Victorian

gold rush of the 1850's and 1860's.

Naturally, I visited the Finnish Club of Melbourne and gave a lecture there. After that, I was interviewed by the Finnish radio of Victoria.

d. Tasmania

From Melbourne I flew to Tasmania, where I had not been before. In particular, I wanted to find out more about three Karlson brothers from Turku. The first of them, Steve Karlson, had arrived as early as 1875 and started the rich Mt. Lyell copper mine in Western Tasmania. In the Australian Archives, South Hobart, there was very little material from the colonial period. But the State Archives of Tasmania, on Murray Street, proved to be a very wellorganised institution. In Hobart, I also visited the recently established Migrant Resource Center, interviewed Finnish settlers and was myself interviewed by the newspaper, *Mercury*.

I rented a car in Hobart and drove first to the Queenstown Museum by the Mount Lyell Mines. There I found some old and rare photographs and dug up information about the Karlsons. Fortunately, the superintendent, Mr. E. Thomas, an elderly gentleman, had personally known members of the Karlson family. Later the same day, I succeeded in obtaining more information from the Zeehan Historical Museum. Then I interviewed some Finnish immigrants in Northern Tasmania before flying from Burnie to Adelaide. My short visit to the apple island had been successful.

e. South Australia: Adelaide

In Adelaide, there are two major archives: the South Australian State Archives, North Terrace, Adelaide, and the Australian Archives, South Australian Branch, Collingswood. In the State Archives, the most valuable sources are the passenger lists, and in the Australian Archives the lists of ships' deserters starting from the 1850's. Also records in the Lutheran Church of Australia, Archives and Research Center, North Adelaide, contain some information about Scandinavians in Australia.

Among my personal contacts, I should like to mention Dr. A.R.G. Griffith, Flinders University. A lecturer in Scandinavian history, he has close ties with the Scandinavian countries. He also has some research interests, and I hope Dr. Griffith might become a contact similar to Mr. J.L. Sanderson in New South Wales. Another key person in Adelaide could be professor Anders Wangel, Dean of the Department of Medicine, University of Adelaide. Professor Wangel has close ties with Finland and he travels there every year. He was interested to hear that the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland, had drawn up some preliminary plans to make a comparative study of the health conditions among Finnish immigrants in Sweden, North America and Australia.

In Adelaide, I found that there were only very few of the old Finns left. Most of them are dead, but in some cases I was able to get information and material from their Australian widows. In other South Australian seaports, there had also been early Finnish settlers, but I did not have time to visit these places. On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that much information could be found there.

For local transport in Adelaide, a trusty old VW was placed at my disposal by a

friend, Mr. Armas Koskinen, who himself is interested in the history of the Finns in Australia.

f. Western Australia

From Adelaide to Perth, I traveled by train over the Nullarbor Desert. The journey, which took one day and two nights from Port Pirie to Perth, gave me an opportunity for reading and meeting interesting people. I spent the Easter holidays in a hotel in Perth writing reports and meeting members of the local Finnish community. I also met professor R.T. Appleyard, head of the Department of Economics, University of Western Australia.

After Easter, I started to work at the Battye Library Archives Section and at the W.A. Branch of the Australian Archives. Finnish settlers in Perth were also interviewed. With Mr. Viljo Kippo, a retired farmer who is interested in the history of the Finns in Australia, I made a two-day trip south to Albany, Manjimup and Bunbury especially to collect information about early Finnish farmers in W.A. A weekend trip was made north, to the Finnish settlement at Geraldton. My main purpose was to visit Finnish crayfish fishermen on the Abrolhos Islands, some 70 km from Geraldton. My guide was Mr. V. Kuutti, from Perth, who himself had engaged in fishing there earlier.

Back in Perth, I met Mr. R. Sharman, now State Librarian of Western Australia. I had known him 10 years earlier in Canberra, and he promised to make some enquiries about Russian Jack, the famous prospector in the W.A. goldfields in the late 19th century. Russian Jack has a place in Australian folklore and even a statue in his honor has been erected, but nobody knows his real name. The most important contributor to the Scandinavian-Australian project is, no doubt, professor R.T. Appleyard. He is one of the leading experts on Australian immigration history and international migratory movements. He visited and lectured in Scandinavia in October 1981.

Unfortunately, I had no time to visit the Kalgoorlie Gold Museum, but I did send a letter there, as well as to many other places where I did not have time to go, and the results have been good. Time ran short and on 29 April, 1981, I had to say good-bye to Perth and Australia and fly back to chilly Finland.

3. Results of the Field Work

"Travel is education," as the British say.

The most important result of my two and a half months' field work in Australia was, no doubt, the information gathered from various archives. This material was either copied, taken as photocopies or ordered as microfilms to be sent later to Finland. It is difficult to estimate the amount of this material of different types. Personal interviews recorded on tape take about 30 hours. In addition, I did a number of interviews over the phone and by correspondence. On the basis of this material, I have made a program for the Finnish radio.

About 1,000 old photographs were collected and a number of personal documents, old books and miscellaneuous items that used to belong to Finnish immigrants were donated to the Institute of Migration.

I also used cameras, taking some 300 pictures for slides and making a 24-minute

single 8-mm film. I have already given some lectures here in Finland using this material.

Nearly 100 books were received either as donations or bought for the library of the Institute. Especially important was finding out what had been published in Australia since my departure from the Australian National University in 1972.

Next to the research material, the most valuable result was the renewed and newly-established contacts with Australian universities and research centers. I visited all the major universities of Australia, meeting staff members and conducting some seminars. I found it very useful and interesting to meet distinguished scholars personally after knowing many of them earlier only by name. I think it is important to make Scandinavian migration research known also in Australia.

I do think that visits of this type from Finland are important also to the Finnish community in Australia. The lectures and slide showings were well-attended and there was always lively discussion, besides which I was able to obtain useful information. The Finns in Australia are looking forward to having their history written for future generations. It is perhaps worth mentioning that I was also asked to write an article about the Finns in Australia for the *Australian Encyclopaedia*.

In Australia, there are about 10,000 persons born in Finland plus their Australian-born children. They have become quite well adjusted to life in Australia. One of their problems is preserving the Finnish language, and I found interest in the study of Finnish among second- and third- and even fourth-generation Finns as well as among some Australians. In the Australian universities, I also found interest in having the Finnish language taught in, at least, adult education programs. At Maquarie University in Sydney, the Australian National University in Canberra and the University of Melbourne, there was also interest in having a lecturer in the Finnish language on a basis in which Finland would sharing the expenses. All depends on the actions taken by these universities and the Finnish Ministry of Education. My personal opinion is that at least one Australian university should set up a permanent position for a lecturer in Finno-Ugric languages. Besides upholding the identity of the Finns in Australia, it would also be important from the standpoint of introducing a new language group to Australian research and education.

4. Concluding Comments

My visit to Australia was a part of the Scandinavian Australian research project. Finally, I would like to thank the Nordic Council in Copenhagen, the Institute of Migration and the Finnish Ministry of Education for economic support to the Australian project. The Finnish community in Australia deserves praise for the help and cooperation at every stage of my journey. I also wish to thank the Australian archives, libraries, universities and other institutions, as well as many individuals, for their assistance and kindness, which made my visit to Australia a memorable and enriching personal experience. I wish our friends from Australia and New Zealand welcome to Scandinavia. Our mutual interest in Scandinavian-Australian migratory movements and the Nordic ethnic heritage is an example of successful international cooperation, spanning the vast distance of 12,000 miles.

FIELD WORK IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA
June 4 – August 8, 1981

Ivo Holmqvist
Gränna, Sweden
Odense, Denmark

I: New Zealand

Scandinavian emigration to New Zealand has been fairly comprehensive, starting with whalers, gold miners and sailors during the first half of last century and reaching a peak in the 1870's with the government assisted settlements in the seventy mile bush area under the Sir Julius Vogel scheme, and with another peak of migration occuring in the 1950's. Much of this has been well researched, from New Zealand as well as from Scandinavia. In New Zealand, the predominance of family research has been marked, though some university theses have been devoted to the subject (Charlton, Davidson, Grigg, et.al.) and local historians have covered much of the bush area migration (G.C.Petersen, A.L.Andersen, et.al.). Danish official records - police listings of emigrants - have been searched by Henning Ladefoged Sørensen; Danish church activities have been looked into by J. Hansen Skovmoes. Mr. Sten Aminoff, former Swedish Ambassador to New Zealand, is compiling an extensive list of Scandinavians in New Zealand with major focus on Swedes. His forthcoming book on the subject will form the basis for all later research on the subject.

As to an over-all assessment of the Scandinavian migration to New Zealand, however, little has been done. It is to be hoped that a general summary will be written in the future, drawing on information both in New Zealand, in Sweden (especially the Emigrant Institute, Växjö) and Denmark (Udvandrerarkivet, Ålborg). The collection of oral history forms a vital ingridient when the history of Scandinavian migration to New Zealand is written, and the taped interviews I made in the summer of 1981 will, I hope, be followed by many more, recorded by students of Scandinavian Studies in New Zealand or some other agency.

My interest in the subject dates back to the early 1970's, when I worked as lecturer of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Auckland. After returning there last summer, it was therefore natural to work with Auckland University as a centre, and much invaluable help was given me by Sean Lovic, a former student of Auckland and Lund universities, at present teaching Swedish at Auckland. He had taken great trouble in arranging meetings, etc., during my stay, and had made contacts with the press and radio stations all over New Zealand. Thanks to him, the going was easy and the collection of information, written as well as oral, was fast and successful.

In Auckland, two natural centres for Scandinavian migration research exist, the Scandinavian Studies branch of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literature at the University of Auckland, and the Danish Club. Thanks to the indefatigable resourcefulness of Professor John Asher, and also to the assistance offered by the Swedish Institute in Stockholm, Scandinavian Studies courses were introduced to the university curriculum in 1965, with Lennart Waara as its first lecturer. After an interval of six years, with first Göran Wessberg and then myself as lecturers, Mr. Waara is back in office since 1975. The personnel at the department, also including Sean Lovic and Carin Svensson, as well as the steady number of students, many of whom have Scandinavian roots, make the department an ideal centre for a continuing research of Scandinavian migration to New Zealand, including both social and linguistic aspects. It is to be hoped that, Sean Lovic, with his personal insight into bi-lingualism, will carry out research in the field of language adaptability among Scandinavian emigrants. And questionnaires along the model used at the University of Melbourne could be of use in Auckland as well, for an efficient compilation of facts on migrants and their descendants.

While I used the department as a centre for my activities in New Zealand, I also gave some lectures at the University on Scandinavian migration research and on modern Scandinavian writers. (I presented similar lectures in Dunedin at the University of Otago and at the National University in Canberra.) I also took part in the meetings and outings of the vital Bellman Society, organized by Sean Lovic, and met with many emigrants, thanks to a talk I gave within the society. In Auckland, I also had the opportunity to meet with Professor Carl Stead, eminent authority on New Zealand literature, himself a writer of poetry and fiction and a man with Swedish roots. An essay on his work will be forthcoming in a Swedish periodical. I also discussed multiculturalism in New Zealand and elsewhere with Anita and Krister Segerberg of the philosophy department, Auckland University. I also took the opportunity to tap the University Library on information regarding this subject, finding both local histories and some recent doctoral theses.

At present, The Scandinavian Club in Auckland, which some years ago was publishing a newsletter regularly, seems to be living a somewhat precarious life, while the Danish Club is thriving. No doubt this mirrors the actual balance of interest within the Scandinavian community in New Zealand as a whole, where the Danes outnumber the other Scandinavians by far. A firmer hold on ethnicity seems to be characteristic of Danes both in New Zealand and Australia as compared with other Scandinavian nations. A tentative explanation for this phenomenon shall not be essayed here; it cannot be explained by sheer numbers, of course. This makes it natural, however, for a Scandinavian researcher to focus attention on Danes. In my case, an interest in Danish language and experiences during my years at Odense University made such a focus even more natural.

I was given an extremely warm welcome by members of the Danish Club and was much impressed by all activities the club has instigated. Thanks to capable management of funds, the club now owns both a club house in the centre of Auckland and a farm north of the city, serving as a recreation centre for members (and also used by the Bellman Society for weekends, one of which I took part in). The club also plans to build an old folk's home for its members, which surely will be well frequented;

many persons interviewed mentiond the fact of growing old in New Zealand as one of the few real drawbacks to life in the Antipodes. Thanks to Tove and Eli Larsen and also to Helmer Larsen, I got a fairly good picture of the Danish community and the history of its club. And thanks to Mrs. Poula Christie, much of its older history was revealed; she served as its secretary during the war years, while her father, Christian Langkilde served as chairman. Much material relating to the history of Danes in New Zealand have been forwarded by Mrs. Christie to Dansk Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen, via the occupation historian Jørgen Haestrup, Odense. Some more material is forthcoming. And much information can also be had in the holdings of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, where the Langkilde letters to Johannes Andersen, librarian and prominent member of the Danish community in the war years, are being kept. Mrs. Christie is at present working with a revised version of her manuscript "No Time for Regret," telling the fascinating story of her parents and their settlement in New Zealand. At the moment, the manuscript being read by a Copenhagen publishing house.

Contacts were also made with some of the descendants of the branch of the Monrad family that remained in New Zealand, and my thanks ar due to Mr. Alfons Blaschke, once a student at the international college at Elsinore, for much valuable information on this subject. Most of the interviews were done in Auckland owing to the efficiency of Sean Lovic when planning my research itinerary, but also somewhat due to the fact that Auckland suburbs are familiar to me and thus the driving both easy and efficient. (Possibly, Auckland has a size ideal for the collection of interviews, whereas Sydney is much too big and too hindered by heavy traffic for an outsider to be ideally efficient.)

In Palmerston North, a meeting with the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu was held while I was there, and the response to the research project most overwhelming. Thanks to the hospitality of Barbara and Brian Durham and their competent planning, many interviews were carried out, and many valuable contacts were made at the social function. Mr. Mac Larsen, one of the truly enthusiastic researchers of Scandinavian migration to New Zealand, and one of its foremost authorities, gave me good guidance and also arranged a tour to the Scandinavian settlements - or the remains of them - in the seventy mile bush area. While in Palmeston North, I also had a chance to look into some of the City Library holdings of the papers of G.C. Petersen, once Danish consul in that city and eminent historian, whose "Forest Homes" is one of the basic books on the subject of Scandinavian settlement in this area and whose book on bishop Monrad has proved of great use.

Mr. E.B. Seymour of Hastwell was kind enough to guide me around the Mauriceville region, where I attended a service at the small Lutheran Church and also looked at the Scandinavian cemetaries at this and an adjoining church. Thanks to him, I also met with the Mortensen family at Mauriceville, where the old parish register is kept. (A copy of this has been obtained thanks to Mr. Sten Aminoff.) And he also showed the remains of the hut where I.A. Sahow lived during the final years of his life. (This radical poet from Odense forms, in a minor way, an interesting counterpart to the more well-known radical, Louis Pio, and his activities among Danish settlers in the United States.) The first verse of his "En ny sang, Hilsen fra de nyankomne invandrere i New Zealand til de gamle Venner i Danmark", printed in Masterton,

N.Z., is worth quoting, as it reveals some of the sentiments within the Danish community at the end of the last century:

"Vogn op I danske Drenge
Til Munterbed og Sang,
Vi nu New Zealand tjene,
Og blive nok til Mænd,
Men først med Skovl og Spade
En Tid vi slæbe maa,
Og dygtig svinge Hakken
Om det os vel ska gaa."

Not all Scandinavian settlers were as successful as the last line hoped they would be, and present day Dannevirke and Norsewood show little of the once thriving Scandinavian communities there. The museum at Dannevirke is interesting but quite small, and the remaining houses give scant impression of what the community was once like.

In Dannevirke, Mrs. Ries, daughter of one of the Danish pastors in the region, was interviewed. Much of her material, including information on the Lutheran community, was being handed over to the Alexander Turnbull Library. Among the informants in the region, the Swedes Gustaf Einar Nilsson and Bengt Fromén should be mentioned; the interviews with them contain much valuable information.

In Wellington, much help was given by the secretary to the Swedish Embassy, Vivian Malmström. Some university lecturers of Scandinavian origin were interviewed, as well as Danish emigrants, and one interesting evening was spent at the house of Yvonne de Fresne, whose short stories and novels (*Farvel, Book of Ester*) are devoted to the Danish settlers along the Manawatu. Herself of Danish Hugenot descent, she has written an admirable portrait of a girl growing up within these communities, where a double legacy is handed over to her: Scandinavian/Nordic and New Zealand. An essay on her books is forthcoming in a Danish periodical, and it is to be hoped that her books will find a Danish publisher as well, as they will also be of great interest to a Danish reading public.

Much help was also given me by Jim Traue, head of the Alexander Turnbull Library, who gave me access to its interesting holdings. Most interesting of all is the collection of a former Scandinavian lending library, from the seventy mile bush area, which has not been analysed or looked into before. My research in the matter will, I hope, result in a short monograph. Enough remains of the lending library for some tentative conclusions to be drawn as to lending practices, literary tastes, buying policies, educational practices, etc., among the early settlers. The existence of an inscribed copy of a Holger Drachmann book (given the Scandinavian Society in London by its author) shows curious ways of transitions for book and emigrant, while an almost complete set of Ibsen plays in first editions, with the stamp of a local New Zealand bookstore, cast interesting light on the question of accessibility of Scandinavian books within 19th century New Zealand society. So far, the original owner of the set has not been traced, though.

Much information as to the history of the Danes in New Zealand can also be had from the Johannes Carl Andersen private papers, which are being kept within the Turnbull Library.

In Christchurch, contacts with local press and radio as well as, a national radio programme had been most efficiently arranged by Mrs. Ruth Bølstad, and, thanks to Mrs. Gertrud Hunter, I also got an opportunity to interview some members of the Swedish community there.

The research activities of the Sociology Department of the University of Canterbury at Christchurch, under the guidance of Charles P. Sedgwick, form an ideal link for the joint Scandinavian research project, and co-operation will be strengthened in the future, possibly involving research student activities in this field as well.

At the University of Otago, Dunedin, Swedish is taught by Mr. Don Jamieson, librarian at the Medical School Library. He has shown a keen interest in Scandinavia, and was, together with Mrs. Barbara Smith, most helpful during my stay there, arranging my lectures both at the German Department (on Strindberg) and at a meeting with people interested in Scandinavian emigration. Professor Hew McLeod of the History Department was most hospitable both during my first visit to Dunedin in 1974 and now, and he arranged interviews with some prominent university people with Scandinavian links.

At Dunedin, the Hocken Library was searched for material on Scandinavians, resulting in some contemporary news clippings from the early settlement days, and the Museum of the Early Settlers also proved interesting as to Scandinavians, and its curator was most obliging.

II: Australia

My stay in Australia was shorter than that in New Zealand and, due to a postal strike, the planning was not quite as successful as it had been in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand. However, thanks to some key persons, my stay there was most profitable, and the number of interviews quite satisfactory. In Sydney, Mrs. Ingela Karlsson-Latter of the Swedish ethnic radio was most hospitable and helpful, and her programme, as well as the ones of her Scandinavian colleagues, could well prove to be of major importance in the further collection of oral information. Mrs. Sanne Mallet of the Danish ethnic radio has volunteered to continue the contacts with Danes, and this channel should be used in the future, it is to be hoped, for a further mapping of the Danish community within Sydney.

At the Mitchell Library in Sydney, I read what holdings the library had by two of the early central persons within the Scandinavian community, Jens Lyng and Count Birger Mörner. A poem by Mörner, repinted in his collection, *Mot aftonglöden*, in 1913 but written in 1909, may be quoted as a counterpart of the Schow poem but also as it, possibly, shows some of the differences between Australia and New Zealand as a destination of emigration for Scandinavians:

"Awagman, vandrare på luffen,
längs de hundramila vägar
med en damper och en billy
i din påses djup,
det mörknar över leden.
Vildskogsstigar, kända blott af kangarooen,
har du trampat, du har sofvit under grenar,

mellan hvilka hängde stjärnor,
och i fjärran tjöto dingos.
Vandra, vandra,
långt det är till klippningstider,
sätt dig ner vid vägen, swagman,
och ditt thé för kvällen koka,
Se däruppe Södra Korset, gnistar vackert,
men det väcker inga minnen,
ty det brann ej öfver barndomsbemmet
detta ljus som fjärran lockar,
brinner i en krog vid vägen,
hemlös, rolös,
trampa, trampa,
kommer aldrig hem till hemmet."

Though the poem is not explicity about a Scandinavian emigrant or swagman, the feeling of a rough existence is well rendered, and these experiences were, of course, shared by Scandinavian migrants as well. Later the same day, I read the *Missing Friends, being the Adventure of a Danish Emigrants in Australia* from 1908, in the University of Sydney Library; it strengthened the impression from Mörner's poem.

Mr. James L. Sanderson, surely the most knowledgeable authority on Scandinavians in Sydney and New South Wales, was most helpful when my stay in Sydney was arranged, and I also had a closer look at his research activities, which duly impressed me.

The Danish consul in Sydney was instrumental in planning my meeting with Danes in the city, and thanks to him the recordings were both plentiful and valuable. I also had a meeting with Pastor Herlufsen and his wife, newly appointed to the post as pastor for the Scandinavian community, and met, at their place, some old-time members of the community, Mrs. Falkanger, Mr. and Mrs. Sjoquist, etc.

Thanks to the generosity of Volvo's Mr. Valter Onsjö in Gothenburg and Mr. Jan Waldorf in Sydney, I had the loan of a Volvo during my whole stay in Australia, which proved most useful both in Sydney and elsewhere. Mrs. Barbara Osmond had arranged my stay at the College of Advanced Education at Gouldburn, and I was lucky to be able to participate in annual convention of the Australian College of Education held there. I got a most valuable overall impression of trends within Australian higher education thanks to this convention, devoted to the future of education within Australia, and I made many interesting contacts. At the same time, I took advantage of using the very wellstocked library of the college, containing much recent material relating to my research.

In Canberra, Professors Hans Kuhn and Xavier Baumgartner, both at the Ger[illegible] department and both offering courses in Swedish language and literature as well as political and cultural history, were interviewed. The talks with them were most interesting, especially as they gave much information on linguistic aspects on teaching foreign languages in Australia. I was most impressed both by the ambitious courses in Swedish history offered by Prof. Kuhn and by the extensive library holdings he had amassed in the area of Scandinavian literature.

The personnel at the Swedish and Danish embassies were most helpful, and mention of research activities on the local radio at the time when I arrived in Canberra got me in touch with Mr. Jan Reksten of the Department of Immigration, from whom I got much information on immigration policies, historically and at present. He has both in Sydney and later at the concluding seminar of the Turku Migration Institute held in February 1982, offered his help and participation should a questionnaire be drafted and used for prospective emigrants from Scandinavia to Australia. As he presently holds the position of migration officer at the Stockholm Australian Embassy, his help will be much appreciated and most helpful.

From Canberra, I drove up to Brisbane and north to Bangor, then south along the coast, stopping at Port Macquire, etc. In Brisbane, the hospitality of both Mrs. Eva and Ester Pope and of Mavis and George Watson was much appreciated. I got a good foothold in Brisbane thanks to members of the local Danish Club, Heimdahl, and via them I could interview quite a few Danes as well as some Swedes within the city The Swedish consul, Mr. Stoddard, offered his help, and it is to be hoped that someone at a later date will take the trouble of assessing all the information kept within his privat archives. Members of his family have served as Swedish consuls for three generations, and the consular archive might well prove a gold mine of information regarding Scandinavian life in Queensland. Another man of great importance as to the further stages of the research project is the Queensland State Premier, the Hon. Johs. Bjelke-Petersen, with whom I had a brief conversation during one of the press conferences held during a somewhat turbulent time, with a state of emergency declared in Queensland following idustrial disputes. As Mr. Bjelke-Petersen is the son of a Danish minister in New Zealand and as his command of Danish still is admirable, his interest in the project would be of great use.

At the University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Professor Don Dignan is at present doing research on immigration to Australia, and my talk with him was most informative both as to different methods of migration research in use in Australia at present and as to the immigration policy adopted so far in Australia. A study of this should be done, relating to Scandinavian immigrants, and an assessment of the resource centres for immigrants from a Scandinavian point of view would be desirable. The activities within Australia as to multiculturalism and a reassessed immigration policy seems most interesting, and a closer look at these issues also might well prove rewarding for Scandinavian researchers of the migration field.

An analysis of the interviews collected in New Zealand and Australia in the summer of 1981 will be forthcoming, as well as a discussion of methods adopted in collecting the interviews; this could be linked to similar discussions going on among Danish ethnological researchers.

No summary of findings will be given here; the material has not been sufficiently analysed for that. Suffice it to state that the material will be of very great importance both in terms of social data - answering questions on migration motives, patterns of migration, age groups, migration propaganda, etc. - and of linguistic aspects of acculturation. The workings of a functional Scandinavian/NZ or Australian language has not really been analysed yet. It is to be hoped that the collection of material for an analysis of that kind will be extended through the assistance of field workers in New Zealand and Australia.

Finally, my greatest thanks are due to the Scandinavian Airline System for granting me a travel barter and to the Nordisk kulturfond in Copenhagen for the research grant enabling me and my colleagues Allan T. Nilson, Gothenburg, and Olavi Koivukangas, Turku to carry out the field research in New Zealand and Australia.

FIELD WORK IN AUSTRALIA, November 10, 1981 – February 6, 1982

Allan T. Nilson
Gothenburg, Sweden

Introduction

As I now write my report, I do so with gratitude for the opportunity to be among those able to do field work. I am grateful to the chairman of the Emigrant Institute in Växjö, docent Ulf Beijbom, for that opportunity and for many stimulating discussions, and I want to thank my old colleague at the Emigrant Institute, Sten Almqvist, as well.

I am grateful to the Nordic Cultural Foundation, which provided funding, as well as to SAS, Volvo, and Gothenburg wholesaler Eric Malmström, who supported the Antipod Project and eased the financial burden of the trip to Australia, travels while there, as well as the organization of the collected material.

I also want to thank my two colleagues who did field work for three months in the Antipodes: the chairman of the Institute of Migration in Finland, Olavi Koivukangas, and Denmark's representative, lecturer Ivo Holmqvist. They have generously imparted their knowledge and experiences regarding this part of the world.

Also, I particularly want to thank all the Nordic-born people in Australia who accepted me with great kindness and allowed interviews.

I was in the field for 89 days. I left Gothenburg on November 10, 1981, and returned on February 6, 1982. From February 22 through March 28, I organized the collected material and started working on it.

As a primary model for my work, I had the research program designed by Ulf Beijbom. It is detailed in the Emigrant Institute's grant application to the Nordic Cultural Foundation and in his own work, *Scandinavian Emigration to Australia and New Zealand. A Preliminary Report, 1981.* Before the journey, I had discussions with Ulf Beijbom, Sten Almqvist, Ivo Holmqvist and Olavi Koivukangas. An important part of any preparation for the trip was naturally a careful study of the material I had previously collected during and after the trip I took to Australia in 1976. A report of that trip was printed in May 1977 with the title, *Under Södra Korset – sammanställning av några uppteckningar och anteckningar från en resa till Australien.* (Under the Southern Cross – a Collection of Observations and Notations about a Trip to Australia).

Ulf Beijbom's list of questions stresses five points: the reasons for emigration from

the old country, why and how emigration took place, the first experience as an emigrant and integration in Australia. Aside from that, there was an exhortation to ask for letters, diaries, old photographs, clippings, etc.

Sten Almqvist's suggestions for additional questions concern those cases when relations with the Swedish Evangelical Church were severed, e.g. whether Swedish customs and habits were maintained, whether Lutheran faith was given up when a marriage partner was chosen from another faith.

Olavi Koivukangas' extensive experience in archival research allowed him to offer tips on how to get help in tracing valuable material in archives.

Field Work

Before I report on my field work, I shall briefly present the route I took and document the results with some figures.

The route of my trip in Australia was the following; Sydney-Brisbane-Nambour-Gympie-Maryborough-Toowoomba-Dalby-Charleville-Longreach-Mount Isa-Hughenden-Townsville-Cairns-Innisfail-Rockhampton-Bundaberg-Nikenbah-Brisbane-Goondiwindi-Wagga Wagga-Mildura-Adelaide-Kimba-Adelaide-Bordertown-Ballarat-Geelong-Melbourne-Silvan-Emerald-Korumburra-Traralgon-Sydney-Canberra-Adaminaby-Kiandra-Bonegilla-Wodonga-Beechworth-Melbourne-Bega-Sydney-Katoomba-Richmond-Newcastle-Quirindi-Tamworth-Wauchope-Port Macquarie-Gosford-Sydney.

Meetings, interviews, photos: I had 185 meetings with over 100 interviews, most of which I have on tape. Three hundred and five photographs were taken. I have also been fortunate enough to borrow old pictures, some 54 of them altogether. The written transcriptions of the tapes as well as the field notes total 160 pages of material.

In the following, I shall attempt to give an overview of my trip to Queensland, South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales

Queensland: In November 1981, I visited the old gold mining town of Gympie and spent fourteen days in Brisbane, where I was able to join in the founding of a Scandinavian radio club and where I went through literature and old pictures in the John Oxley Library. Furthermore, with the kind help of State Archivist, P.D. Wilson, I obtained the following archive series: "Register of Arrivals," "Naturalizations 1863-1900," which included a card file listing everyone by nationality, as well as "Aliens Naturalized 1880-1885, numbering 2,320." I was able to prepare for the Antipod Project at the Department of History, University of Queensland, St. Lucia. At the end of the month, I traveled to Mount Isa, where I did interviews and gave lectures on the Antipod Project in the Mount Isa Rotary Club. In early December, I interviewed Scandinavians in Urangan and Maryborough.

South Australia: December 5 and 6 1981, I traveled 2040 kilometers from Brisbane to Adelaide.I spent a few days at the Adelaide State Archives and obtained from an "Index to ships arriving at South Australian Ports from Overseas 1853-1900" a wonderful list of names which had column headings such as Port of Arrival, Port of Origin, Date of Arrival! Most landed in Port Adelaide; some, however in Port Pirie and Port Augusta. The Nordic ships came from Gefle, Wifstawarf, Hernösand,

Svartvik, Ljusne, Sandarne, Hudiksvall, Sundsvall, Skellefteå, Söderhamn, Skutskär, Göteborg, Fredriksstad, Christiania, Drammen, Christiansand, Arendal, Bergen. I also copied passenger lists and found many an Anderson, Andersen, Christofferson, Davidson, Hansen, Holm, Johnson, Nilson, Petersen, Peterson, etc.

Victoria: On the 13th of December 1981, I traveled 820 kilometers from Adelaide to Melbourne. There I met daily until Christmas with the current Swedish pastor, Håkan Eilert, and one of the previous pastors, Lage Tyréus. The Swedish church had long had a strong foothold in Melbourne. The very first sermon was preached on Easter Day in 1856 for the Swedish gold diggers in Mac Ivor. The first person to preach in Swedish was Per Persson Wideman from Virestad. Eilert and Tyréus know all the Nordic people there, which made my work easier. Sometimes they arranged for me to meet Nordic people at coffee following church, sometimes we visited the people in their widespread "congregation," sometimes we searched through the archives of the church. Many notebook pages were filled and many a minute recorded on tape. In between, I interviewed Nordic people as far as Silvan, Geelong and Korumburra. I spent many days at the Public Record Office and in La Trobe Library, a part of the State Library of Victoria. The card file of naturalizations in the public records office was most informative. I excerpted names, occupations, ages and countries of birth of Nordic people, as well as their new addresses in Victoria. The first note in this record seems to concern "Patterson, Thomas, Denmark, 36 years old, mariner, Melbourne 23.9.1854," and the last "Nilsson, Oscar, Oskarshamn, Sweden, 76, hawker, 23 Raleigh Street, Essendon, 18.2.1929.

New South Wales: Between January 14 and 23 1982, I stayed in Sydney. During this time, I visited among others, a ninety-year-old gardener, Paul Sorensen, in Leura. A great number of Nordic people were interviewed. During the last few days of January and the first few in February, before my departure on February 5 1982, I was in Sydney and did additional tapings. Aside from a number of meetings with James Sanderson, my colleague in the Antipod Project, I visited museums, libraries and universities. I was invited to the University so I could meet Professor Richard Bosworth and Dr. Janis Wilton and others. They were pleased to hear about the Antipod Project and, at the same time, to inform me about their own project called "Thirty Years After." Their intention is "to record interviews with people about reasons for migrating, their country of origin, their experiences in the migration process, their life in Australia and to locate diaries, letters, photographs, etc. The project aims to collect, collate and store some of the valuable information of the 20% of Australians who are of non-English-speaking immigrant origin." Richard Bosworth and Janis Wilton invited the Antipod Project to keep in touch with their project both in questions dealing with Scandinavians in comparison with other non-English speaking immigrants and in problems concerning methods in collecting and assessing material.

Summary

What is, succinctly stated, particularly characteristic of Nordic people in Australia,

according to my current material? Allow me first to present some things considered to be *characteristic of Australians.* Richard White writes in his book, *Inventing Australia,* about the national identity: "The convict hell, the working man's paradise, the bush legend, the typical Australian from the shearer to the Bondi life-saver, the land of opportunity, the small rich industrial country, the multicultural society."

What does Swedishness mean? Håkan Eilert answers that formal patriotism has diminished. The idea of Sweden means unique impressions and connections. Even if one has left the country disgruntled and angry, one once was and will generally remain a Swede. Generally speaking, it was fairly pleasant to live as an immigrant and a Swedish expatriate. One decided oneself how much one wanted to get involved in the politics and customs of the new country. As a rule, the Swedes were good mixers. ("Källa invid öknens rand. En bok om svenskar och svenskt kyrkoliv i Melbourne 1856-1981," i.e., *A Spring at the Edge of a Desert. A Book about the Swedes and Swedish Church Life in Melbourne 1856-1981.*

After a general comparative overview and a discussion of that which Eilert has considered particularly Swedish throughout the years, I shall again refer to the material I have collected and sum up by mentioning that we have, in accordance with the general overview, met Nordic people who work in the sugar industry in Queensland, the Wolff family in Mena Creek; that many Nordic people have worked and still work in industry and in the mines is made clear by my many interviews in Newcastle and Mount Isa. The Scandinavians naturally had fewer difficulties with the language than did the Southern Europeans. It has been shown that, as a rule, Scandinavian children learned English rather rapidly.

I have met many who have held extra jobs in order to be able to buy land or a house, etc. Those who paid their way themselves did not have to stay long in the introductory camps, such as Bonegilla. Others stayed for six-month periods. During the winter rains, it could be very dismal to wait for work and housing. Without going into detail about everything referred to here, it is very clear that, again, we recognize ongoing *patterns:*

Patterns

Places and people in different areas became significant by virtue of what they represent:

- Korumburra and Poowong, with great numbers of Danes in dairy and cattle production,
- Mena Creek, in the sugar cane area, with second-generation Swedish settlers from the days of Queensland's colonization,
- Urangan, with second-generation Danish settlers from the days of Queensland's colonization,
- Atherton and Toowomba, with their fruitful and varied tablelands, where many Nordic people worked during the colonization of Queensland,
- Mount Isa, with its Nordic, above all Finnish, miners,
- Spencer Gulf, with traditions from Åland's Gustaf Erikson and wheat trade to

England,

- Emerald and Silvan, with their fruit and flower farms, where the Swedes and Finland-Swedes have pioneered as flower farmers,
- Adaminaby and Kiandra, where the Nordic men truly made their mark in the construction of a large power plant,
- Sydney suburban area, known because of its many successful Nordic inhabitants,
- Katoomba, with its Danish nursery and Danish landscaping widely known,
- Newcastle, with its steel mills, which meant much to Nordic men looking for work,

The background of Nordic emigrants varies. Often they had been seamen who "jumped ship," craftsmen or laborers. At times, a relative had settled earlier in Australia. This was clearly of utmost significance when it came to establishing contact with the new continent.

Emigration took Place

- out of a desire to have a better life,
- out of a desire for adventure,
- out of a desire to see the world and other countries,
- out of a desire to break free of the old ways,
- for health reasons,
- for reasons of climate,
- out of a desire for new challenges,
- for political reasons,
- out of a desire to obtain more education.

The beginning was a time of trial; heat was annoying, food strange; it was difficult to get a job, difficult to get housing; the language caused problems at work and at school. A good friend, one who met a new immigrant at the harbor or at the airport and who could arrange for the first place to live and give advice on job-seeking and on how to live in the new land, was incomparably valuable in helping the immigrant over the first hurdles. The beginning was much easier if the immigrant or a member of his family knew a little English. Otherwise, this is where he suffered his first cultural shock. In order to become more Australian, many changed their names; Söderberg became Soderberg; Hård became Hard; Karl, Charles; Göran, George, etc.

Integration was naturally easier if one married an Australian, and those who got jobs and earned enough to obtain land and build a house started to feel more and more at home. If one joined a club, one found friends, and if one played an instrument, one found others with similar interests. If one learned the language, communication became easier and if one took classes, one found friends and found it easier to advance with a certificate in English as well as in occupational skills.

Contacts with Scandinavia were maintained as long as parents or brothers and sisters were alive. It meant much if the mother tongue was spoken in the family. Interest in the old country has been kept up through magazine subscriptions and book purchases. Especially during the last 30 years, trips to the homeland were made

in order to show the old country to the children. The new telephone technology and reduced rates have made it possible to call the homeland. Scandinavian clubs have cultivated common interests. Many people have maintained their Nordic citizenship, but others have become naturalized out of loyalty to the new land, so that the whole family is Australian.

In mixed marriages, the Nordic customs often disappear. But in many families, the Nordic ties are felt particularly strongly at Christmas time, what with baking of ginger cookies, serving of lutefisk, herring, brown beans, etc. - and, in these days, even putting up plastic Christmas trees. In Victoria, the Melbourne Swedish Church is a popular meeting place of the Nordic people, especially during the Christmas Fair, Lucia celebration, Christmas, weddings, baptisms and funerals.

Did the immigrants win or lose through emigration? Many returned disillusioned. Most of them, however, feel that they have it better here; they have established homes, relatives and friends are around. Climate and life are freer and simplier. "Sydney was a paradise at the end of the 1940's for a sailor who had lived through the terror of war," declared Sven Vikberg from Toorak. "Here in Sydney it is just as in Stockholm with small ferries scuttering back and forth. This is my country, this is where I want to live my life," explained Gustaf Lindegren, when he, in an inspiring fashion, told his life's story during the Swedish Christmas luncheon in the Westworth Hotel in Sydney in 1976.

In Henry Lawson's poetry, we see something typically Australian: myths about camaraderie, egalitarian feeling, anti-authoritarian inclination, longing for good old times, the bush and freedom. Many of the Nordic immigrants can agree with Dorothea McKellan's **My Country**:

I love a sunburnt country
A land of sweeping plains,
Of rugged mountain ranges,
Of drought and flooding rains.
I love her far horizons,
I love her jewel-sea.
Her beauty and her terror -
The wide brown land for me!

NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA, PROGRESS REPORT February 1982[1]

James L. Sanderson
Sydney

Introduction

The following introductory remarks are mainly for the benefit of those members of the "Antipodes Project" symposium who are not familiar with the aims of the work being carried out in Sydney regarding Scandinavian immigrants.

When the work was begun in 1979, it was hoped by the writer to discover not only the number but also the more personal details of Scandinavian immigrants who settled in Australia from the earliest times to 1904. It was soon discovered, however, that under existing circumstances, this aim was too ambitious. The problem is that prior to federation of the states of Australia in 1901, each state kept its own immigration records. Unless one is prepared to spend much time in each of the states perusing its records, one would have to be content with confining one's search to the records available in one state, on this case, the state of New South Wales. Because of the difficulties regarding access to records outlined above, the areal extent of the search had to be limited to N.S.W. However, in another sense it has been broadened. It was soon discovered from the records, though by no means surprisingly, that there were other Scandinavian immigrants besides Swedish ones, e.g., Danes, Norwegians and Finns. So the search was broadened to include these Scandinavians as well. At the moment then, the research is concerned with "Scandinavians in New South Wales prior to 1904." The year 1904 was chosen because it is the year when naturalisation of immigrants to N.S.W. ceased. From this year onward, naturalisation became, if not in theory then in fact, a Commonwealth responsibility.

New South Wales

To the writer, the most obvious way to discover who actually settled in N.S.W. was to peruse the Records of Naturalisation. This has been done, with the result that we now know that approximately 1773 Scandinavians were naturalised in Sydney, N.S.W., between the 1830's and 1904. The earliest "naturalisations" to be included in this figure of 1773 were by Letters of Denization. It should also be pointed out that this figure includes Danes born in Schleswig-Holstein before 1864. Obviously, not all Scandinavians who settled in N.S.W. became naturalised, and much of my

1. Mr. Sanderson visited Scandinavian countries in 1981 and sent this report for the Symposium.

work has been directed towards finding these people. Because many Scandinavians arrived here as seamen, one has to resort to a perusal of crew and passenger names in the shipping records. It is not implied that even the majority of these visitors settled in N.S.W. or in Australia, but at least they had the opportunity to do so. The shipping records are quite useful as far as Scandinavian seamen are concerned, because one can trace, for example, the same man working year after year, in some cases for ten years, as a seaman in Australian coastal, interstate and overseas shipping. The records are, however, deficient as regards Scandinavian passengers. Scandinavian names do occur in the passenger lists, but as nationality is not stated, one does not know if they are genuine immigrants or merely passengers who happen to have a Scandinavian name. At the moment, I have card-catalogued approximately 5,000 Scandinavian seamen and passengers. The latter are those who, because of the particular circumstances existing at the time, appear to be genuine Scandinavian immigrants. For example, one finds on occasions, three or four passengers travelling "in steerage" from Otago, New Zealand; all have very common Swedish names and all classified are in passenger list as "miners." One feels reasonably safe in assuming that these people are Swedes; although all we know about them are their names.

Another potential source of information are the Census returns for the State of N.S.W. Apart from the Convict Musters, the first official Census was taken in N.S.W. in 1828. A few Scandinavians are included in this Census, but generally speaking it was taken too early for the majority of Scandinavian immigrants, most of whom arrived in significant numbers during the 1850's and 1880's. The 1841 Census has not, as yet, been seen by the writer although I have been informed by the Archives Office staff that it is not particularly informative. Unfortunately for our purposes, all Census returns for N.S.W. between 1851 and 1881, were destroyed during the "Garden Palace" fire, which occurred in Sydney on 22 September 1882. The 1891 Census is available for perusal, and this will be done when time and circumstance permit. The 1901 Census is not at present available for viewing. I understand that an Act of Parliament must be passed before it can be viewed by interested persons. Another useful, though intermittent, source of information is that obtained through telephone calls to, and correspondence with, descendants of Scandinavians in N.S.W. Much useful and confirmatory information has been obtained by this means.

Work in Progress

Because of the amount of information accumulated so far, and also because of the time-factor, it has been decided to have the List of Scandinavian seamen and immigrants who entered New South Wales prior to 1870, printed as soon as possible. This is being compiled by the writer at the present time, preparatory to its being typed by a professional typist, and eventually off-set printed. The List from 1871 to 1904 will follow in due course, when the shipping records for Sydney and Newcastle have been perused on microfilm. This is of necessity a slow process, because one must look through the crew lists for every ship which entered Sydney and Newcastle harbours between those years. Cards for each Scandinavian name then must be made, and seamen matched-up according to name, age and place of birth (where

stated). Needless to say, names are often incorrectly (or variously) spelled from ship to ship, ages misquoted by a year or two either way; and even nationality wrongly stated. In many cases it is possible to match a seaman up with one of my naturalised Scandinavians.

Work is also in progress to obtain more details about naturalised Scandinavians, other than Swedish ones. It is intended to assemble, as a separate work, a list of all Scandinavians who became naturalised in New South Wales between the 1830's and 1904. Permission for this publication may need to be obtained from the Archives Office of N.S.W., circulation perhaps limited to specified Scandinavian institutions. Perhaps it is worth mentioning here that this list includes many Scandinavians, particularly Danes, who settled in Queensland during the 1850's, when Queensland was still part of New South Wales. It also includes some early Scandinavian arrivals, who were naturalised in Sydney but who lived in the Porth Phillip district (now Melbourne) of Victoria.

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III RESEARCH PROGRESS

SWEDISH PIONEERS IN AUSTRALIA – A SUMMARY

Sten Almqvist
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The Earliest Contacts

Swedish sailors were among the crews of the first European ships to visit the Southern seas. Their names appear in old ship documents from Abel Tasman's ships "HEEMSKERK" and "ZEEHAN", which operated from the Dutch harbour Batavia in Java. More important was the Swedish participation in Captain James Cook's expeditions around Australia, New Zealand and in the Pacific. The outstanding names are Daniel Solander and Anders Sparrman, both pupils of Carl Linnaeus.

Should Sweden acquire colonies? This was rather much debated in the 1830's and 40's. It was mostly speculation, but there were also a few concrete, although highly unrealistic plans from which nothing came. Within some trading houses there was a deep conviction that Swedish international trade would have to find new markets. This led to a considerable increase in the Swedish merchant fleet during the 1840's and the Swedish flag began to appear in very distant waters.

In these mercantile actions, the wholesaler Carl Fredrik Liljevalch took an active part. He built a number of ships for sailing to distant parts of the world. As he had many interests in the Northern part of Sweden, the ships were often filled with different cargoes from there. On 1st May, 1840, the 135 ton barque, "Mary Ann," anchored in Sydney harbour. It was the first Swedish ship to arrive in Australia, but her journey was remarkable for another reason too. "Mary Ann" was the first Swedish ship to sail around the world. She was under the command of Captain Nils Werngren who later commanded other Liljevalch ships in journeys to different Pacific islands not visited since the days of Captain Cook

It is interesting to note what cargoes Liljevalch considered attractive to Australia. The barque "Edward," sent out in 1841, had a cargo of timber, iron, steel, granite as well as general cargo such as 576 birch chairs, 72 beds, 4 sofas, and 100 ladders. In addition there was also 1 gig, 2 prefabricated (!) houses and 132 reindeer steaks and 615 reindeer tongues, both of which are now unobtainable delicacies for Australians.

But Liljevalch was not only selling goods. He was probably the first agent for Swedish migration to Australia. He was criticised in a Swedish newspaper article for his activities and was specifically accused of having induced a group of 30 Swedes to migrate, having promised them extremely tempting work and pay conditions in "New

Holland," as Australia was still called at that time. Liljevalch defended himself in another newspaper article and declared his good intentions and lack of guilt for any adverse conditions faced by these Swedes in their new country.

Gold Mines in Australia

In 1853 a book was printed in Gothenburg with the title "Australia and its Gold Regions – Reliable information for migrants to Australia, especially with regard to transport, arrival, settlement and gold-digging" written by Charles Albert Kann. The appearance of the book was proof of how Australia had, because of the gold discovered only two years earlier, entered in the conscience of the Swedish people. Many Swedes had already participated in the goldrush to California which started in 1849. No wonder there was an immediate response when rumours about gold in Australia started to get around! It is, however, uncertain how many Swedes actually did leave Sweden for Australia during these years. An inspection of applications for travel documents in Swedish archives reveals only 40 persons having declared their intention to go to Australia, but we know from Australian sources that there were around 5.000 Scandinavians in the country towards the end of the 1850's. In his book of 1859, "Walkabout in Australia 1857-1859," the Swedish newspaper man, Corfitz Cronquist, estimated the number of Swedes in the country at 1500. The explanation of the vast difference between Swedish and Australian sources is that the main part of the gold-diggers were fugitive sailors. Cronquist tells of several Swedish ships which could not leave Australian ports because the sailors had deserted.

Also, some Swedes came to Australia via California. It has been said that the lawlessness on the Californian goldfields induced many diggers to go to Victoria instead. Books, newspapers and letters give us a good account of the hard life in the goldfields in Victoria. In 1857 there existed a Scandinavian Society in Ballarat. The first divinity service in Swedish was held in Ballarat by a former priest, Pehr Wideman, who had emigrated from his parish in Småland (Southern Sweden) to find an earthly fortune. Like many others he died alone and destitute after 15 years on the goldfields in Victoria.

The Billmanson archive is the biggest collection about a single migrant that exists in the Swedish Institute on Migration. Two hundred and eighty-eight letters, received and sent, are included in the collection. Ivan Feodor Billmanson was born near Sala, Sweden, in 1836. He became a shipper and went to sea. He joined the British Merchant Navy. After having visited America and later helping transport wounded from the Crimean War, he arrived in 1857 in Australia as a common sailor and immediately, upon arrival in Melbourne, jumped ship and remained in this part of the world. His life in Australia was to become filled with poverty, hardship and sickness. He was constantly searching for the big gold find which always eluded him. In his letters he tells about the gold digging life and also about the country in general. His return to Sweden was a constant theme through all his letters, but there was always something that stopped him. One constant argument was that he could not return until he had become rich and independent. He later left for New Zealand where gold had been found and died there from tuberculosis in 1872.

Scandinavian Newspapers in Australia

The rapidly established city of Ballarat became a centre for the Scandinavian migrants. The above mentioned Corfitz Cronquist went there and tried to start a Scandinavian newspaper. He convinced the gold diggers to help him with the necessary capital. Cronquist calculated that the newspaper would become a small consolation for the distance of the home country. With it and with educational lectures, he wished to create an alternative to the life in the pubs and the card playing. In July 1857 he published the first issue of "The North – Scandinavian Newspaper in Australia." The first Swedish-American newspaper, "The Home Country" had appeared only two years earlier. "The North" was printed in Melbourne but after some time moved to Ballarat. The enterprise collapsed, however, because the expected subscribers were, to a large extent, illiterate and also scattered over a large area where the mail service was unreliable and address references non-existant. After three months fight and about fifteen issues, the newspaper was laid to rest. As far as is known, not one of its issues still exists in Australia, but two copies are kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm. Cronquist assumed that his own effort to print a Scandinavian newspaper in Australia would be the last one. But he was wrong. In 1887 a Dane, Söderberg, and a Swede, Franzen, made a new attempt with "Scandinavia." Its span of life was less than one year. In 1893 Rev. Pedersen of the Scandinavian Church in Melbourne started the magazine "Home Land Times." Out of this grew a new newspaper "The North" edited by a Dane, Jens Lyng, and it became the mouthpiece of Scandinavians all over the continent and was to last up to World War II. It covered events in the four old countries as well as the new home country. Other Scandinavian migrant newspapers were to appear, for instance, "Church News." In recent years a number of newsletters for members of different Scandinavian or Swedish clubs and societies have been published.

Swedish Migration during the 19th Century

In the 19th century Sweden was, by European standards, in many ways an underdeveloped country, economically as well as culturally and politically. Apart from the adventurism of the migrants of the gold rush, there is no doubt that the most important reason for the emigration was the fact that the largely agricultural Sweden could not support its rapidly increasing population.

During the period 1861-1910, Sweden lost more than one million people who emigrated to other countries, mainly to America. The emigration reached its peak during the 1880's when around 40.000 left Sweden every year. The reasons for this large emigration can now be discussed in a more detached way than was possible when the big emigration took place.

The emigration was earlier looked upon as a major disaster, but it could as well be argued that the rapid and relatively friction free transformation, which later changed Swedish society into a highly industrialised one, would not have been possible without the previous emigration. In such a case, the social tensions in Swedish society would probably have become much greater. Swedish migration to Australia began more than 125 years ago, and has not yet come to an end. Instead, we have witnessed

during the last few years a somewhat increased stream of Swedish migrants. Around 7.000 migrants of Swedish descent are living in Australia today.

Some of the migrants from Sweden have made considerable contributions to the advancement of their new homeland. One of the most well-known names in this respect is Carl Axel Nobelius (1851-1921). He started fruit plantations and nurseries in Victoria and Tasmania and is considered to have owned the biggest fruityards in the Southern hemisphere. Another wellknown Swede was William Kopsen who arrived in Australia in the 1860's. He became a businessman in timber. He later earned a fortune by providing a necessity for the pacific islanders – paddles! He spent several years in Fiji where he became Swedish Consul. Later he moved back to Australia. His diaries are preserved and are of considerable interest, not least because they show how a migrant gradually changes his language. The Swedish Church in Melbourne, with its historical and beautiful environment, (once the Governor's mansion), started in 1904 and is now a natural centre for Swedes and many other Scandinavians in Victoria. One of its organists, Magnus Lagerlöf, introduced Swedish composers to Australia, such as Stenhammar and Peterson-Berger, and arranged many concerts.

As before, a main purpose of the church was to care for the Swedish sailors. This reflects the close shipping connections between Sweden and Australia. After the earlier efforts in the 1840's by Liljevalch and his different barques, as described previously, it was in 1911 that the first regular liner traffic was established between Sweden and Australia, (Transatlantic). Swedish sailors on ships calling at Australian ports have, over the years, been a major link between the two countries.

The Swedish language is now a recognised subject at Melbourne University and at the Australian National University in Canberra.

As shown above there were, in the 1840's already some Swedish exports to Australia. Some of these items do not appear any more in the trade statistics. These days some 40 Swedish subsidiaries and around 400 agents supply the Australian market with a large variety of goods. It is estimated that the Swedish subsidiaries provide employment for around 8.000 Australians.

Swedish Scientific Explorations of Australia

Carl Linnaeus, the great front figure of European science in the 18th century, inspired a Swedish tradition of scientific travel: The "apostles" of Linnaeus went to all corners of the world. They became victims of pirates and plague, hunger, thirst and poverty. Some of them died far from home. But the harvest of knowledge brought home was, nevertheless, enormous.

Dr. Daniel Carl Solander was born at Piteå, in Northern Sweden, in 1733. He was one of Carl Linnaeus's most able pupils and later became the most outstanding partner ("guest and co-scholar") of Joseph Banks, the scientific leader of the Endeavour expedition from 1768 to 1771. According to one scholar, (J. G. Beagelhole), Solander was "a charming fellow." At the time of his departure from England in 1768 "he was 35, rather portly, radiant with good feeling; constitutionally almost incapable of answering a letter – or even of opening a good many – but by no means the lazy fellow he is often said to have been..."

A letter written by Solander to Linnaeus on 1 December 1768, while the Endeavour was in Rio de Janeiro, gives interesting information on the expedition as well as on conditions in Rio de Janeiro and in Solander's personal life.....

"Honourable Arch Physician and Knight
my well disposed promoter

When this ship was equipped to make explorations in the Southern part of the Pacific and to bring out an astronomer to observe the transit of the Sun above the Disc of the Sun next 3 June, a young man named Joseph Banks decided to join, for the cause of Natural Science. I have known him quite well since several years and he proposed to me to go with him at his expense. I thought that such an offer and such an opportunity should not be rejected. We therefore together made an application to the King of England to get passage on the ship which was so well received by the government that the Captain got orders to give us the best cabins and to recieve three draughtsmen and six servants who all belong to Mr Banks. The name of the Astronomer is Green; the ship was named Endeavour; the name of the Captain is James Cook.

Our intention is to go around the Southern point of the Magellan land, called Cape Horn and from there to set our course through the South Sea to a big island that was found 3 years ago by an English Wallis and named George Land; it is inhabited by a very kind-hearted, civilised and well-shaped people. The island is situated in the South Sea under the Southern Tropique about halfway between America and Africa (139 degrees West from London). There we plan to perform our astronomical observations and perhaps stay about six months. If our ship and its crew afterwards are in good shape I think we shall try if unknown countries are left for us to discover; the name of our ship alludes thereon; Endeavour means attempt. Our return home will without doubt be made through Eastern India. Probably we will see Botavia and Caput Bone Spei (Cape of Good Hope). We shall probably not be home until 1771. And if Mr. Banks is then in the same spirit as now to fulfil his studies in Natural History then we shall together soon travel to Sweden and ask you, Mr. Arch Physician to be our Model Master of our undertakings.....

"Mr. Banks asks me to report his best respects. I have the honour, with the greatest humility, constantly to insist.

Honourable Mr. Arch Physician and Knight
your most humble servant
Dan C. Solander

Rio de Janeiro in Brazilia
On board Royal English Navy Ship
Endeavour, 1 December 1768"

Unfortunately, Solander's diary, if it ever existed, disappeared even within his own time. But there is an abundance of references to him in Captain Cook's log and Bank's diary, for instance the following was written during their stay in Botany Bay, 28 April – 5 May 1770...

"1 May. 1770 (Banks) The Captn Dr. Solander, myself and some of the people making in all 10 musquets, resolved to make an excursion into the country. We accordingly did so and walkd till we compleatly tird ourselves .... We saw many Indian houses and places where thay slept upon the grass without the least shelter ...." (sic)

"3 May, 1770 (Banks) The Captn and Dr. Solander employed the day going in the pinnace into various parts of the harbour. They saw fires at several places and people who ran away at their approach with the greatest precipitation; of this our gentlemen took the advantage, eating what they found and leaving beads, ribbands & in return. They found also several trees which bore fruit of the Jambosa kind, much in colour and shape resembling cherries; of these they eat plentifully and brought home also abundance, which we eat with much pleasure tho they had little to recommend them but a light acid."

"6 May (Cook) The great quantity of New Plants &c Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place occasioned my giving it the name of Botany Bay."

There was a 140 years lapse until Swedes made a new research attack on Australia. In 1910 an expedition under Dr. Erik Mjöberg (1882-1938) arrived in Perth to explore the Kimberleys. Mjöberg, himself a zoologist but also interested in ethnography, was accompanied by Yngve Laurell, an ethnographer, Rudolf Söderberg, a bird watcher, and Cyrus Widell, a taxidermist. Some of the Swedes met Daisy Bates, which she mentions in her book "The Passing of the Aborigines".... "In 1910, two international expeditions arrived in Perth to undertake field work among the Western Australian aborigines.... The second was a party of Swedish scientists led by Mr. Laurell. This party was bound for Kimberley and none of its members spoke English, depending mainly of French as a medium of conversation."

Regardless of language problems the expedition later sailed from Perth to Derby. With an impressive ox caravan (supplied by the Western Australian Government) the party then set out into the outback on 26th October, 1910. After a couple of months the expedition reached Fitzroy Crossing and St. Georges Range. Laurell and Söderberg made a separate expedition to Mowla Downs and, later, to the Sunday Islands northeast of Derby. In December 1911, the expedition arrived back in Sweden with a large collection of artifacts and different specimens.

Only six months later Mjöberg started a new expedition to Australia, this time to the Cape York Peninsula, which lasted until 1913. A large number of scientific reports were later published and, in addition, Dr. Mjöberg wrote two popular books "Among Wild Animals and People in Australia" and "Among Stone Age People in the Wilderness of Queensland." The ethnographica collected by Yngve Laurell, including a large number of photographs and phonographs rolls, are now in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm.

Einar du Rietz (1895-1967) was a botanist. In 1926-27 he made a long botanical expedition to Australia and New Zealand together with his wife, also a botanist. The purpose of the expedition was to collect material for a critical revision of the then still generally accepted principles, (since Carl Linnaeus), for the scientific grouping of the vegetation and also to create a new universal system. Dr. Rietz later published his results in different scientific journals.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COMMUNITIES IN MELBOURNE 1870–1919

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1.1. Introduction

In recent decades much research has been directed towards immigrant groups in the Australian community since World War II, but little has been done on groups before that date. In this paper I shall examine how the Scandinavian settlers in Victoria, and particularly in Melbourne, behaved as a group between 1870 and 1910. The earlier date marks the collapse of the attempt to rally the Scandinavians to form a unified Lutheran congregation in Melbourne, and by the latter date the political events in Scandinavia, with the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden, had polarised the community and led to a revival of awareness of Norwegian and Swedish identity.

The two basic issues I plan to touch on are:

1) the nature of the ethnic communal organisations in the Scandinavian communities and the role they played in either maintaining ethnicity or in aiding assimilation,

2) the extent to which the Scandinavians as a group assimilated to the Anglo-Celtic Australian community in language, patterns of living and customs and the extent to which they retained or adapted patterns of behaviour from their homelands.

1.2 Source Material

The major source for this survey are the newspapers Norden (1897-1940) and Kirketidende (1898-1900),[1] the archives of the Swedish Church in Melbourne and of the University of Melbourne; the reports of travellers such as Corfitz Cronqvist and memoires such as those of Claus Grønn; the demographic and literary works of Jens Lyng; and, finally, modern research by Olavi Koivukangas and Håkan Eilert (see bibliography).

2.1 A Brief Survey of Melbourne 1835-1910[2]

The first white settlement of what later was called Victoria was by pastoralists from Van Diemen's Land. Portland Bay was settled in 1834 and a year later two different parties set up rival camps which became the nucleus of what later was Melbourne

Town. At first this settlement was illegal, but the occupation was soon accepted officially as a fait accompli. A second wave of migrating pastoralists from the north met the southern wave by 1840. Thus Melbourne, the only colonial capital which did not originate from an official British decree, became the centre of a pastoral society and by August 1842 was declared a municipality with 4,000 inhabitants.

The development of the wool trade and the subsequent prosperity of Melbourne led to an increase of shipping. Even if it were only after the 1850's that Scandinavian shipping became a feature of the Victorian trade, this was the cause of many Scandinavian sailors deserting in Melbourne or Geelong throughout the second half of the 19th century.

The next stage of Melbourne's development was the discovery of gold in 1851, hard on the separation of the colony from New South Wales. Within a year the city, bereft of its workers, became a transit for prospective diggers en route to the gold-fields. The city's growth was phenomenal, and by 1860 fourteen local municipalities had been established. Melbourne took on the function of the administrative and commercial capital of Victoria. The 1860's and 1870's witnessed the growth and consolidation of the city as trade and industry developed and as many former gold-diggers were resettled from the diminishing alluvial gold-fields in Melbourne or in smaller country centres.

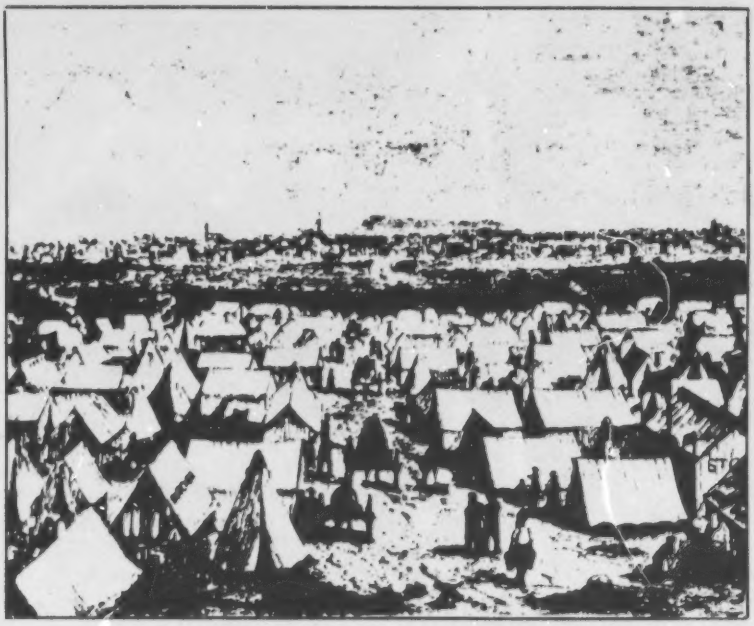
The holding of the great exhibitions of 1881 and 1888 indicates the rapid economic and industrial development of Melbourne. The pretentious dome of the Exhibition Building, towering over the city, symbolised to the citizens their miraculous industrial advance. This was the time of the great boom in land and building, of "Marvellous Melbourne," when many affluent and arrogant citizens believed that a golden age had come through their own efforts.

All this was to change dramatically in the 1890's with the economic recession, the collapse of many companies, the closing of the banks for a period and widespread social misery. Unemployment and economic hardship hovered over the city. Melbourne, for a time the leading city in Australia, declined quickly. In the period under review the spectre of poverty and need is seen haunting the Scandinavian community even as late as 1909, even if the more affluent managed to rehabilitate themselves by about 1900.

Melbourne was also a "Victorian" city in the historical sense like Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester and was very conscious of this fact. In our survey we find a transplanted British society, more British than the British themselves. We must always see this British identity as the backdrop to Scandinavian immigration and settlement.

2.2 The Scandinavian Community in Victoria 1851-1910

We know little of Scandinavians in Victoria before the gold-rush of the 1850's. Many were attracted by the lure of gold and settled around the goldfields at Ballarat, Bendigo and Castlemaine in large numbers, and most smaller diggings had their little groups of Scandinavians. Cronqvist estimated that there were between 2,500 and 2,800 Scandinavian miners in Victoria in the late 1850's.[3] There was a preponderance of Danes as a result of the disbanding of the Danish army after the First Slesvig War 1848-50.[4] Not all the Scandinavians stayed at the gold-fields. Lyng, who had earlier



Canvas Town, South Melbourne

Great Bourke Street, Melbourne

believed that there were no Scandinavians in Melbourne in the 1850's later discovered that there had been quite a considerable group, mainly seamen, who had disappeared a decade later.[5]

As the alluvial gold began to diminish in the 1860's and 1870's, there was a tendency for Scandinavians to seek work in Melbourne or in the towns in the gold-field districts, or to take to farming. In the 1881 census there were 815 Scandinavians in Melbourne and 580 in the gold-fields areas.[6] But the statistics do not indicate the nature of the employment of the latter. About a third of the Danes and a fifth of the Germans were in the gold regions.[7]

The Second Slesvig War of 1864 led to a growth of the Danish population in the late 1860's, but in the 1870's it was the number of Norwegians and Swedes (taken as a group) that increased. They doubled whereas the Danes only increased by a third.[8] Of great interest was the Danish settlement of Poowong in East Gippsland, where Lyng calculated the population as being 70 when he visited it in 1895.[9] In 1881 a little Swedish group settled around Carl Axel Nobelius at Emerald in the Dandenongs (to the east of Melbourne), and the plant-nursery established there became very well-known.[10] It appears that about a dozen families were clustered there.

At present little is known about the contours of the Scandinavian population of, 1870-1910 Melbourne. The press and the archives of the Danish Club, and to some extent the church records, indicate the activities of the articulate middle-class. The life of the silent majority, lower in the social scale, has yet to be researched.

The most significant fact about the statistics is the imbalance of the sexes. In 1871 there were 2,139 Scandinavian men to 115 Scandinavian women, in 1881 2,237 men to 177 women in 1891 4,236 men to 377 women.[12] The fact that the preponderance of males led to wide-spread intermarriage between Scandinavian men and Australian (or British) women is of vital significance for any study on the assimilation of Scandinavians in Victoria.

3.1 The Communal Life of the Scandinavians

The review of the Scandinavian communal organisations will first cover the informal network and then the formal network. The latter will be seen under: 1) clubs, 2) church, 3) temperance movement, 4) women's organisations, 5) press.

3.11 The Informal Network

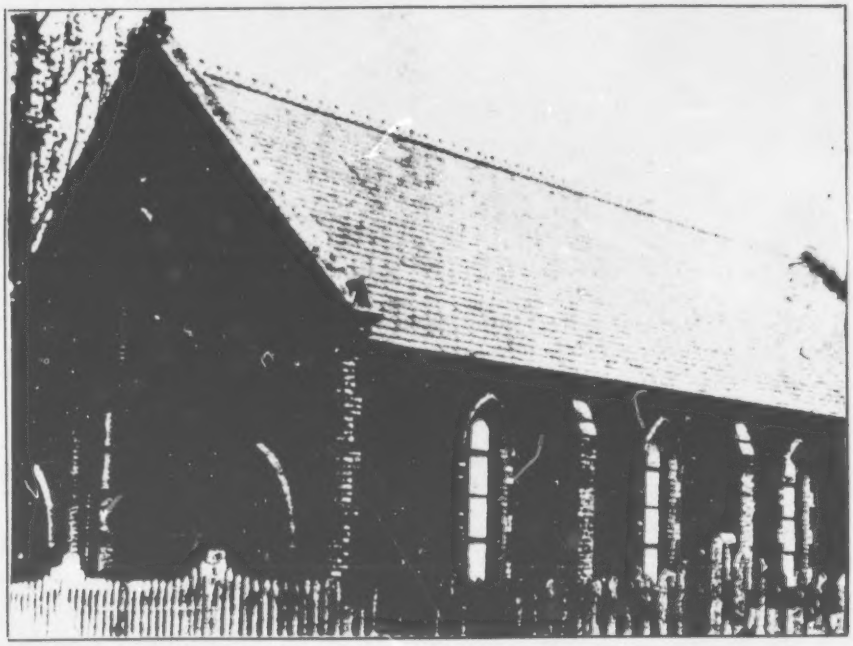
From the earliest gold-rush days there have existed informal networks. Lyng mentioned, that Hans and Esther Appel's hotel at Fryer's Creek (in the Castlemaine district) "became a second home for young Slesvigers and half a hundred could be seen there at a time."[13] Carl Tolstrup, the owner of a general store in the Castlemaine area, became an unofficial legal adviser to many young Scandinavians. When they left the Castlemaine diggings in the 1870's to seek work on farms in New South Wales, many returned annually to celebrate Christmas with the Tolstrups.[14]

3.12 The Formal Networks

3.121 Clubs. The informal network could at times develop into formalised societies

Pastor Laurits Carlsen

Pastor Sören Pedersen



Scandinavian Church, William Street, West Melbourne, 1890s'

such as those in Ballarat in 1857 and 1869. The former erected its own wooden building during its brief existence, and the latter came into being to celebrate a Scandinavian royal wedding with a spectacular banquet.[15]

Lyng mentioned the existence of a Scandinavian club in Melbourne in the 1850's, but like those in Ballarat it did not last.[16] Likewise, a Scandinavian society is reported to have existed in the 1870's, but it did not flourish.[17]

In 1880 a group of 35 Scandinavians met to form a club. The impulse came from visitors to the great exhibition, who intended to stay for at least some months in Melbourne.[18] They even started a dancing class. In 1882 a male choir was formed and this became the main function of the club. Returning to its original purpose in 1889, it struggled on, first under Danish and then under Norwegian leadership. It collapsed finally in 1887 when a specifically Swedish club was formed.[19] The Swedish Club began with a flourish and a membership of 100, but by 1899 it had declined to a little group of 13, forming a very exclusive society.[20]

In 1889 a Danish club called Dannebrog was formed. After a short period of success it became dormant about 1894. In 1896 the Danish Association was formed by new arrivals, unaware of the earlier organisation. The two united in 1899 to form the Danish Association Dannebrog, or later just simply "Dannebrog."[21] This organisation became the leading and most lively Scandinavian ethnic organisation of its day, meeting in the spacious Empire Hotel, earlier one of the city's leading hotels. In the period under review Dannebrog followed a most varied programme of activities including bird-shooting, pantomimes and dramatic performances.

A Swedish Association of 45 members was formed in 1900 on a broader basis than the exclusive Swedish Club. It united with the older Swedish Club in 1906, but at no time did it flourish like its Danish counterpart, Dannebrog.[23]

In 1900 the Norwegian Society was formed,[24] and in 1909 an active Scandinavian Club was formed at Geelong.[25]

3.122 Church Life. The Scandinavian Church in Melbourne as a continuing institution dates from 1883. The first service in Victoria was held at the MacIvor diggins (now Heathcote) by Per Persson Wideman in 1856, but no established congregation arose.[36] A more stable move towards the establishment of a congregation dates from 1859 when the Dane, Henrik Hansen, started services in Melbourne in Danish and German on alternate Sundays. Hansen managed to gather a little group around him, but the hostile relations between Germans and Danes on the home front militated against the formation of a congregation on a firm Scandinavian ethnic basis. Therefore, when Consul J.B. Were managed to obtain a land grant for the building of a church in 1870, the whole scheme collapsed because of lack of support from the Scandinavians themselves.[27]

By the 1880's the situation had changed and the firm basis for a congregation had developed. In 1883 Pastor Lauritz Carlsen was sent to Melbourne by the Norwegian Lutheran Church in the U.S.A. He founded Our Saviour's Scandinavian Lutheran Church, which he built up until his presumed temporary recall to Minnesota in 1887.[28] When he neither returned nor contacted the congregation during his absence, the members turned to the Norwegian Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Scan-

dinavian Seamen in Foreign Parts (Foreningen til Evangeliets Forkyndelse for Skandinaviske Sømend i fremmende Havne) and agreed to pay a stipend of 100 to any pastor selected for Melbourne. Accordingly, in May 1889 there arrived Søren Pedersen, a man deeply affected by the spirituality of the revival movements sweeping northern Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world. With burning zeal and untiring energy he gathered and consolidated the scattered flock and made it a bulwark against the sinful life which typified the hard-drinking, card-playing ethnic clubs. He polarised the Scandinavian community; yet, such was his character that even his bitterest enemies respected his integrity and dedication. As a counter to the worldly clubs Pedersen created a whole supportsystem of organisations to satisfy all the social needs of the Scandinavians. He set up youth groups, a temperance society and even an employment bureau. As the effects of the economic depression of the 1890's hit the congregation, this unusually active and gifted pastor was forced to return to Norway in March 1895.[29]

The congregation under lay leadership turned to Norway and Sweden for support. Although the committee preferred a Norwegian, the best offer came from the Swedish Evangelical National Missionary Society (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen). Accordingly, Pastor Karl T. Hultmark arrived in Melbourne in December 1896. The congregation soon discovered that he was not the man they needed. Even if things seemed to flourish during his first few years, especially with the 1898 opening of the church building in William Street, West Melbourne (mainly with Norwegian money), he soon alienated the Norwegian element and could not hold together a polyethnic Scandinavian congregation. The cause was not as much Hultmark as the tension between Norway and Sweden prior to the dissolution of the union in 1905. This eventuated in the dissolution of the united Scandinavian congregation in West Melbourne and the formation of a specifically Swedish church in Clarendon Street, South Melbourne, much nearer the port. Here Hultmark, enthused by the new currents of national pride in Sweden, throve as a Swedish pastor in Melbourne. The small attendances as shown by the records of the church indicate that his role became more cultural and social than spiritual, despite his own wishes.[30]

3.123 Temperance Societies. The first temperance society was founded by Pedersen in 1890.[31] It soon became an effective means of keeping the flock as well as some of the visiting seamen away from the snares of Bacchus. Under Hultmark, its importance declined as club life started swinging again. There was some talk of reconstituting it as the Scandinavian Total Abstinence Society in 1899,[32] but instead it joined the Good Templar movement as the Scandia Lodge, the membership doubling in the first month.[33] The specific Scandinavian character of the lodge was weakened from the beginning because it was open to all in the general Australian community who shared the same social and health goals. Meetings were held alternately in English and Scandinavian. The Scandinavian links were even more weakened in September 1905 by its being transformed into the Lodge of All Nations with the incorporation of a German element.[34]

3.124 Women's Organisations. Before 1900 the social world of the Scandinavians in Melbourne, outside the church, was an almost exclusively male preserve. We find the

church women organising to stage an annual bazaar towards church funds.[35] There was, for a period, a ladies' guild which met on alternate Wednesday. At the inaugural meeting it was decided not to invite "English" ladies to join even if their assistance were welcome at all times.[36]

In 1907 new winds are seen to be blowing. A lady called "Viola" wrote an editorial in *Norden*, pointing out that in the current surfeit of social and cultural events in Melbourne - races, meetings, German opera, garden parties, ballets and concerts by Clara Butt - the Scandinavian women were not behind with their excellent exhibition of handicrafts and a concert by Mme Agnes Janson.[37]

In 1909 Mrs Waern, the wife of the Swedish vice-consul, started meetings of Scandinavian women on Saturday afternoons at her rooms in "The Block", an area of fashionable shops in Collins Street, Melbourne.[38]

3.125 The Press. The first periodical between 1870 and 1910 was *Hjemlandstoner* from 1893 to 1896, a biannual church magazine, founded by Pedersen and subsequently edited by Lyng from 1893 to 1896. This paper is, unfortunately, not preserved at the La Trobe Library in Melbourne.

Out of *Hjemlandstoner* grew *Norden* (no. 2), which began in 1896 and lasted for 44 years. Jens Lyng, its founder, edited the paper for its first decade. Lyng is shown to be a man of strong social sensitivity and of inexhaustible resourcefulness as well as of a definite literary bent. *Norden* is a veritable gold-mine for research on Scandinavians in Australia.[34]

A Danish adventurer, H.L. Nielsen, launched in May 1898 a paper *Kirketidender* to counter the worldly influence of *Norden*. It had a short life until its cessation in October 1900. Lyng's weakest point was religion - one could nearly say that he was theologically unlettered - and from the violent vituperation between the pious and impious editors the issues at stake are somewhat clouded.[40]

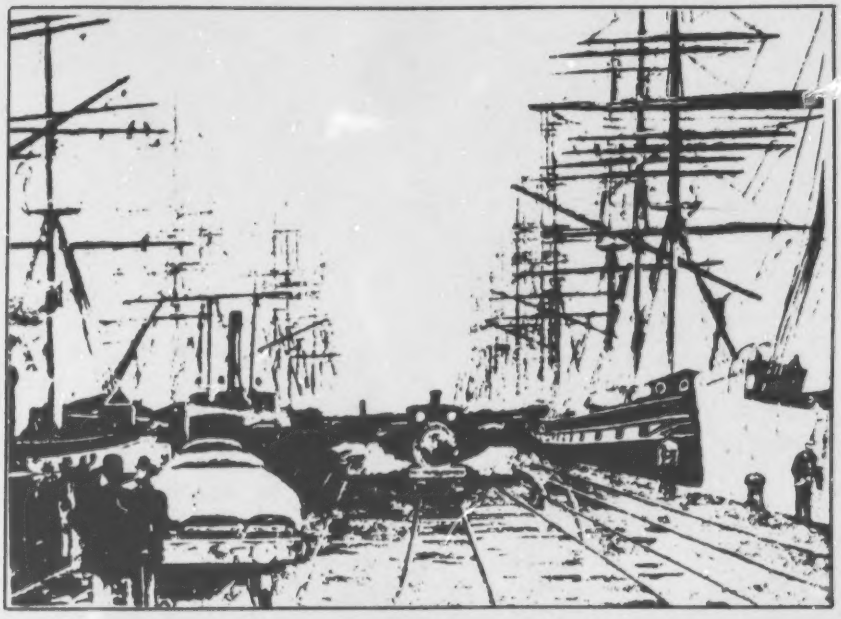
4.1. The Function of the Social Organisations

The forms of social life of the Scandinavians in Melbourne 1870 to 1910 are not unlike those of the immigrant communities after the Second World War. The work of Jean Martin on refugee groups in Adelaide in the 1960s and of Rachel Unikoski on Dutch, Maltese on Polish groups in Melbourne in the 1970s shows that certain basic patterns emerge in ethnic communal life, despite the marked differences observed in the communities and their backgrounds.[41] Rachel Unikoski succinctly summed up the nature of the ethnic social organisations when she wrote of their "effort at the reconstruction of social, cultural and spiritual life of the community planted in foreign surroundings".[42]

From the earliest days in Melbourne it was usual for ethnic groups to form clubs, the first being a St. Patrick's Society of 1842.[43] There were English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh as well as German clubs. In 1900 there were about 11 German clubs in Victoria.[44]

The sources from the 1850's and the 1860's show the development of an informal network. We see how small groups of diverse skills, social interests and regional and national origin, yet with the common bond of Scandinavian birth, inevitably formed

Claus Gronn's tent at Preshaw's Flat, Campbell's Creek
Reproduced from Cuthbert Clark's original painting



Station Pier, Port Melbourne, 1880s'

informal associations when thrown together in colonial Victoria. Warner and Srole define these informal associations as groups larger than cliques having a regular meeting place and organised around recreational activities.[45] On the other hand, the formalised Scandinavian organisations, like other ethnic associations in Australia and the U.S.A., are much more complex in both from, content and purpose.[46] They are highly susceptible to instability as the migrant community grows and develops with its changing needs within the framework of the host country.[47] Jean Martin makes an interesting comment that the informal networks are much more resilient than formalised, assiciational structures.[48]

4.2. The Explicit Functions of the Ethnic Organisations

The following comments are relevant for all forms of Scandinavian life, whether religious or secular, recreational or educational.

4.21 Social Forms. Very quickly structured forms of communal social life at gatherings emerge. The church developed a pattern of worship, Sunday morning and evening.[49] This pattern did not suit the changed conditions after 1900, and the evening services were suspended in 1904 to be replaced by social evenings in the reading rooms at Queens Bridge.[50] There were successive tea-meetings, concerts and an apostolate consciously directed towards sailors in port. Hr. Schreuder, the secretary of the church committee, spoke at a concert for seamen in August 1898 of the church being a link in the local Scandinavians' efforts to draw their sea-faring brethren away from Melbourne's many temptations.[51] Again there is a report of the beautiful Scandinavian maids who wait upon the sons of Neptune with coffee and cakes, also to keep them on the straight and narrow.[52]

The ethnic clubs developed programmes of talks, concerts, lantern-slide-shows, men's nights, indoor target shooting, cards, dancing and, of course, sumptuous dinners. The Danes are first recorded as having a *smørrebrødbord* in October 1899[53], and the Swedes put on a smörgåsbord when the two rival associations met to sup in peace at the national table in 1903.[54] When the level of cultural sophistication and supply of artistic talent rose in the first decade of the present century, we find the presentation of pantomimes of a very high standard.[55]

4.22 Special Festivals. The way special events, often occurring annually, were celebrated indicates much about the attitudes of the ethnic group. It is interesting to see how the migrant community perceives its own national culture and adapts this to the conditions prevailing in Australia. Forms emerge within the ethnic community which are different from the traditional structures in the homeland.[56]

It is obvious that one of the highlights of the year was the celebration of Christmas, and that the climatic conditions would influence the form. Yet there is no overwhelming stress on Christmas as there was at home. It was seen to be a celebration within the home. The organisations would have a party, such as the banquet for the members of the Danish Society in 1897. Of interest is the party for 250 children and adults which Dannebrog staged together with a pantomime.[57]

One institution common to Scandinavian and Australian societies was the picnic

into the countryside. In Australia a formalised pattern of games, competitions and other activities arose among all types of organisations from Sunday schools to butchers' unions. Because Saturday was a half working day and Sunday was a day of rest, it was usual to hold these picnics on public holidays, the main ones being Boxing Day, Easter Monday and Melbourne Cup Day. The church's picnic to Studley Park (c. 8 km from the city) and the Swedish Clubs outing to Oakleigh were typical of the pattern which emerged.[58]

It is both significant and interesting that the Danes held their picnics and some other activities on Sundays. For example on January 31, 1898 the Danish Club went out to Greensborough for a picnic and later the same year decorated four-horse drays and took the festive Danes to a picnic at Wellington Creek. A reporter commented:

> The good Melbournians on their way to church must have stopped and looked and had occasion to contemplate these "foreigners" godlessness.[59]

The choice of a Sunday was not only an expression of the secular spirit among the Scandinavian associations but a direct reaction to the activities of Pedersen's crusade against the diabolical effects of club-life.

An ancient pastime which the Danish clubs revived was bird-shooting. It was first introduced simultaneously in Sydney and Brisbane on Easter Monday 1898 and two years later it was taken up in Melbourne.[60] Typically enough the day chosen there was Good Friday.[61] The annual bird-shooting became an occassion of inter-colonial visits of distinguished Danes. In 1905 the Melbourne bird-shooting was attended by important visitors from Brisbane, O.F. Youngberg and Consul Christensen. It was accompanied with a week's festivities.[62] The annual custom was to elect a *fuglekong* - a king of the birds - and for years a certain A. Jensen held this post. In 1907 the honour fell to Brewer Jacob Cohn of Bendigo.[63]

Between 1900 and 1910 there developed a flourishing of dramatic and musical life amongst the Melbourne Scandinavian communities. The Danish Club Dannebrog presented pantomimes of considerable artistic merit such as *Harelquin's Sceleton, The World's Hercules* and *Harlequin's Mechanical Statue.* [64] In 1903 a dramatic group was set up by Dannebrog in the Empire Hotel with a Danish Play, Hostrup's *Den tredje,* and a little play in English about Copenhagen by F. Faber, a local entitled *Love in a Garret.* [65] The leading actor of the group was A. Nielson of dairy-goods fame, and he was surrounded by a group of enthusiastic and talented supporters. The Empire Hotel was used for the smaller productions, but the larger ones were performed in the hall belonging to the German Turnverein in Victoria Street, Fitzroy. The dramatic peak was reached in 1906 when Holberg's *Jeppe pa berget* was staged in honour of J.S. Lyng's resignation from his 10 years' editorship of *Norden.* [66]

All the artistic talents of the Danish community were employed in the presentation of the carnival of 1903 in the unlikely month of September. It took the form of a masked ball and involved all Scandinavians with national costumes, dancing and tableaux. A fictitious telegram from Oscar II was read -

> My heart flows over with joy. Your mask ball will be a new link between Norway and Sweden.

and another from Kaiser Wilhelm,

> Succes to the mask ball. Wish it had been made in Germany.[67] Masked balls were

held for several years in succession, with important political figures and, on one occasion, the governor attending.

The Swedes were not so given to drama as the Danes. However, the arrival of Magnus Lagerlöf in 1904 and the appointment of Mme Agnes Janson to the Conservatorium of Melbourne at the University of Melbourne in 1906 gave rise to a flourishing of music amongst the Swedes and even the foundation of a male quartet.[68]

4.23 Libraries. One of the first cultural tasks of any ethnic society was the establishment of a library. It was a sign that one existed and meant business. In 1898 we hear that Norden had gathered 600 volumes and four months later that the church housed its library of 600 items in the sacristy.[69] The Danish club, the Swedish Association and the Norwegian Association all set up libraries after their foundation.[70] The church's reading room had the additional function of providing seamen with newspapers and magazines. Ultimately it moved to a location near Queens Bridge to be nearer the port.[71]

4.24 Social Welfare. The membership of all organisations, except that of the church, comprised the more affluent members of the community, and the club membership would not generally have been in need of financial help. We do not hear of cases of financial collapse of this group during the depression of the 1890's. Yet the club members all felt that they represented their national community, and there were many instances of help to impoverished non-members.

The most radical enterprise was the establishment of an employment agency by Pastor Pedersen in 1892. He conducted it until his departure in 1895, when Jens Lyng of *Norden* took over the management. In the year 1896-1897 he assisted 100 young Scandinavians in gaining employment. The next year he found employment for 20..He explained that immigration had stopped and that the job market was slowly improving.[72]

The cause which most stirred the conscience of the Scandinavian community, in particular the Danes, was the case of Cecilia Andersen. She was involved in a shooting at a Melbourne hotel in 1897, when a man who had swindled her was shot. Proclaiming her innocence, she was imprisoned.[73] There was continued agitation amongst the Scandinavians and especially the Danish community.[74] We hear of a concert by Dannebrog for the benefit of an unfortunate widow, of a wreath from *Norden* to a pauper's grave and of help to a crippled vagabond shoe-shine, incapacitated by a fall.[78]

From the evidence there emerges a picture of an informal as well as a formal network of mutual support within the Scandinavian community, and in the formalised structures the communal organisations feel themselves responsible for all members of their ethnic group.

4.3. The Nature of the Social Organisations

From the literature there can be discerned a pattern which both religious and secular organisations share.[79]

4.31 Dynamism. The social organisations are dynamic in nature, constantly varying, and reflecting the changing needs of the immigrant group as its role within the society develops.

4.32 Secularism. Unlike the migrant groups in the U.S.A., the Scandinavians in Melbourne 1870-1910 display a strongly secular character. Surprisingly few maintain a nominal religious affiliation with the Scandinavian church, and others marry into other churches. Rachel Unikoski's comments of migrants of the 1970's that "the church has ceased to be the natural communal centre, the transmitter of culture" are relevant to the Scandinavians 60–90 years earlier.[80]

4.33 Historic Continuity. There is a strong tendency to conform to and to attempt to maintain the broad historic pattern of the home country. We see bird-shooting, dancing in the country-side, masquerades, gastronomic treats and the cultivation of singing - all rather different from the staid and sober Anglo-Saxon patterns which were developing in middle-class Australia.

4.34 Individual Integration. In general there was little relationship between membership of ethnic organisations and individual assimilation or adjustment to the host community. The process of assimilation is seen to operate in an area beyond the confines of the ethnic organisation. The communal associations neither aided nor hindered assimilation, but functioned in another context.

5.1 The Role of the Ethnic Social Organisations

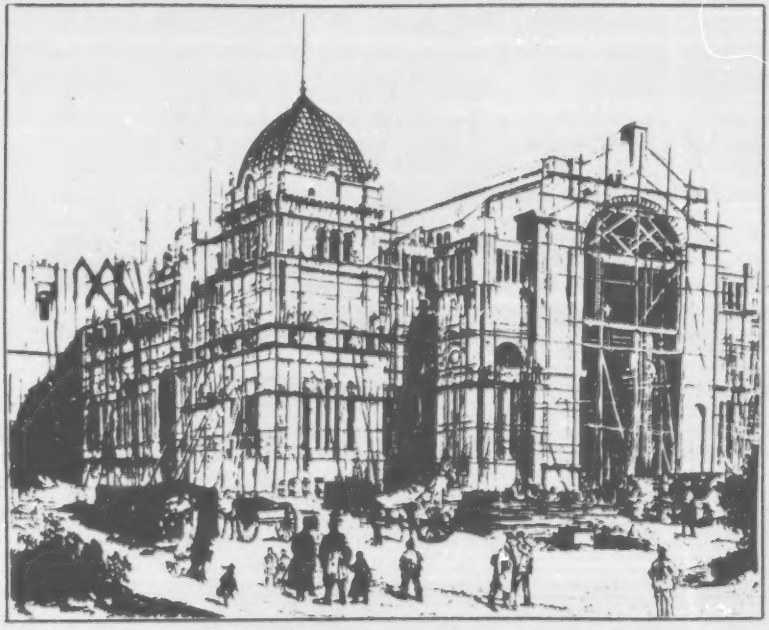
5.11 Protection. The first major role of the ethnic social organisation was protective. Unikoski writes:

> Fundamentally the ethnic organisations are the spontaneous expression of indivudual needs through a corporate body, and these needs will dictate the particular form of protection.[81]

This support can take the form of cushioning the individual against the culture-shock of the new environment by maintaining some of the old, familiar ways, such as language, forms of conviviality, festivals and by a gradual acquisition of certain characteristics of the dominant host-culture such as toasts to Queen Victoria, collections on Hospital Sunday in October and picnics on major public holidays. These activities are a counterbalance to the disorienting influence of the impact of the new environment.

5.12 Cohesion. The second major importance of the communal association is the cohesive. The organisation binds the members of the ethnic group together so that it becomes aware of its own distinctiveness over against the dominant culture of the host-community.[82] The immigrants find a core around which they can cluster and identify, a sense of belonging to a group which shares similar cultural experiences and a sense of perpetuating of culture, if not a language. The associations supply a framework in which the immigrants can discover both who they are and what they are in the new environment.

Elizabeth and Collins Streets, 1889



The building of the International Exhibition, 1879

6.1 Maintenance of Ethnicity

The second major question underlying my research beside the nature and role of the communal associations is that of assimilation and the maintenance of ethnic identity. It was obvious that a little group should be assimilated by the larger group, and yet many managed to maintain a sense of ethnic distinctiveness within their families, even in some cases of mixed marriages.

6.11 Language Use. In the sources it is assumed that it is both natural and inevitable that the Scandinavian community in Melbourne will switch to English. It is nearly always taken for granted that the children will speak and even understand only English. When Lyng accompanied Pastor Pedersen to East Poowong in 1895, the liturgical language was English

> out of regard to the young people and the many friends the pastor had won from outside the Danish community.[83]

Lyng's second reason is reflected in the work of the Scandinavian Church in West Melbourne and also in that of the temperance societies. Both from the beginning attracted a considerable following from the Australian community. There was an English choir in the church for the evening service, composed of young people from the district.[84] The Temperance Society, even when supposedly "Scandinavian", always held some of its meetings in English, because the common interests involved it in the Anglo-Celtic community.[85]

A constantly burning issue was the problem of language in mixed Scandinavian gatherings. In the prolonged preparations for the Scandinavian dinner for the royal wedding of 1869 Mr. Luplau explained that he could not understand Swedish and that his Danish was inadequate because he had left "very young and innocent." He even claimed that many diggers had unfortunately forgotten their mother-tongue and could speak only English. It was decided that

> just as every bird sings with its own beak, so each one should speak that language he knows best.[86]

At the annual general meeting of the church in 1901 it was requested that Pastor Hultmark should sometimes preach in English so that all could understand.[87]

It was observed that many Scandinavians of the same nation spoke English together. Per Johnson, when he arrived in Melbourne in 1902, found that the Swedish club used English exclusively. He was immediately elected a member and reported that he tried unsuccessfully to introduce Swedish.[88] Likewise, a Danish visitor from Adelaide in 1904 was horrified to find Melbourne Danes speaking English together.[89] In 1906 special attention was drawn in *Norden* to the case of Palmerston North in New Zealand where, as opposed to Melbourne, the 50 children of the Scandinavian Sunday School spoke their mother-tongue as well as did their parents.[90]

The whole situation appalled Count Birger Mörner, who supplied the editorial for Norden in February 1907. If Jews in Constantinople could keep Ladino after four centuries of emigration from Spain, why can Swedes not keep Swedish after one generation?" he asked. He exhorted parents diligently to teach their children and "to give them the key to open the jewel-chest where Nordic gems lie hidden."[91]

Behind the most noble, the count's outburst lies the problem of transmission of a minority ethnic culture to successive generations. In 1902 the issue was debated in *Norden*. Lyng had written that many children had a passive understanding of their mother-tongue but no active use. This he contrasted with Scandinavians in New Zealand and the U.S.A. and with Germans in Australia. He attributed the cause to the small size and scattered settlement of Scandinavian families. To this, one correspondent replied that the cause lay rather in the large number of mixed marriages as a result of the preponderance of Scandinavian males.[92]

It is interesting to review the linguistic situation among the Melbourne Scandinavians in the light of recent research in socio-linguistics. Joshua Fishman wrote of language as being more likely the determining factor of ethnic identity.[93] But in a collection of essays, where he expresses this view, the author of an article on the Arvanites, an Albanian minority in Greece which was often linguistically totally hellenised, in interpreting a survey on language use comments on

> the lack of importance they appear to attach to their language as a symbol of ethnic group membership.[94]

It is true to say that the Melbourne Scandinavian settlers did not see language as the major factor in their ethnic identity, and several Australian-born informants aged between 60 and 90 of Scandinavian families which migrated between 1900 and 1910 have indicated that their families decided to use mainly or even only English, yet transmitted a strong sense of Scandinavian identity.

6.12 Attitudes to the Homeland. The Melbourne community carefully followed the events in the various homelands, and indeed the communal life of these expatriate Scandinavians was deeply affected by what went home at home. From this first copy of *Norden* preserved in Melbourne (no.39) there was a large section reserved for news from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. There were also items about Scandinavians in U.S.A. and elsewhere. The areas constantly highlighted were the fate of the Danes and Danish culture in Slesvig and the events in Finland under the Russian yoke.

In 1907 Lyng reminded the readers of *Norden* that there had been no donations to the 130 Danish-language libraries of Nord Slesvig. Consequently he organised a collection to buy the remaining unsold copies of his *Emigrantnoveller and Moderne Vikinger*, which he donated for 20, and to present them to the libraries in Nord Slesvig. He commented,

> The books give a picture of our life out here and will bear a message to our North Slesvigian brothers that we also hold firm to our language and our nationality.[95]

Of even greater significance was the emergent nationalism amongst the Norwegians after the turn of the century. The effect was the collapse of the united Scandinavian congregation and the establishment of a specifically Swedish congregation.[96]

The Scandinavian groups were well aware that they came from countries with long and glorious histories, which had helped towards the development of Great Britain. They often looked nostalgically to a romanticized picture of their past or their present. For their bazaar of 1899 they transformed St. Patrick's Hall in Bourke Street (also temporally used for their church services) to a Scandinavian market-place with women in national costume.[97] For the opening of federal parliament in the Exhibition Build-

ing in Melbourne on 9 May 1901 ethnic and other groups were given sections of main streets to decorate, and Danes, Norwegians and Swedes vied with each other with their spectacular displays.[98] When the South Melbourne Municipality celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1905, the Scandinavian contribution was a fullymanned viking ship - despite the recent break between Norway and Sweden - and it won the first prize.[99]

6.13 Scandinavian versus Specific Nationalism. In Victoria Scandinavian population was at first thrown together and was too small to form separate national organisations. Thus the forms of religious and secular communal life were usually on a common Scandinavian basis. The chairman of the church committee, Hr. Schreuder, spoke in 1898 on the origin of Our Saviour's congregation as a federation of the four Scandinavian nations for the sake of the common good.[100] A few years later, against the background of incipient hostility, secretary Hartman exhorted the Scandinavians to forget old understandings and small national differences but to gather in harmony around their beautiful church-building which he called

> the neutral ground and the only public building in Victoria where Scandinavians can gather freely and independently and hoist their own flags.[101]

Yet, as Håkan Eilert shows in his masterly study of the Melbourne church, these efforts at unity were doomed to failure. Any attempt to unite the different Scandinavian nationalities was impossible against the backdrop of the political events in Scandinavia.

Moreover, the scheme to form a Scandinavian club in Melbourne in 1900 came to nought; both the Norwegians and Swedes rejected the proposal and the Danes were nearly equally divided on the issue - 16 were in favour and 15 against.[102]

The only integrating factor towards unity in Melbourne was the newspaper *Norden* and its idealistic editor, Jens Lyng. A letter to the paper in June 1905 congratulated the editor on his maintaining of a strict neutrality between the dissident nations.[103] When Lyng resigned from the editorship, a Hr. Olsen wrote:

> One thing is sure. Few among us have done as much as he to produce solidarity between the three Northern peoples in their adopted father-land; most of us have not done a tenth as much.[104]

On the other hand, the tendency towards intense patriotism increased towards the end of the 19th century and was perceived until the outbreak of the First World War. A Norwegian wrote in *Hjemlandstoner* a passage which typifies the general attitude.

> National feeling is woven together with the finest characteristics in human nature; if it is destroyed, one is destroyed oneself as an integrated personality.[105]

The pages of *Norden* continually illustrate this sentiment. At a meeting of Dannebrog, the old warriors, Bulow of 1848 and Andressen of 1864, received an ovation as well as a toast.[106] The 50th anniversary of the Danish Constitution in 1899 was celebrated with gastronomic delights and with speeches and toasts for the old warriors of 1848-1850 and 1864.[107] In 1906 at the suggestion of Pastor Hultmark the celebration of Gustaf Adolf's Day was added to the annual programme of the Swedish club.[108]

One is aware that the Norwegians deeply resented the Swedish take over of the

church. Nevertheless, the rise of Swedish nationalism is clearly depicted. The advent of Magnus Lagerlöf and Mme. Janson gave an immense boost to the resurgent pride in Swedish culture in the wake of the dissolution of the union. Yet it was the arrival of the Most Noble, the Count Birger Mörner, the first career diplomat from Sweden in Australia, that was of greatest significance. Fifty Melbourne Swedes gave a dinner in his honour as he progressed triumphantly on his boat towards Sydney. His Nobility told the assembled company of a new spirit at large in Sweden, a new confidence in their own power, a youth movement comparable only to that in Germany early in this 19th century. In reply one speaker said,

> Few eyes dry when we received the dear and warm greetings from Sweden. For once, at least, all our thoughts were united, for once our hearts beat for our king, for the land of our birth.[109]

6.14 Communal Attitudes towards the Scandinavians. The attitude of Anglo-Celtic Australians towards the settlers from the North was one of general acceptance and even of admiration at times.

Whenever there was a public expression of xenophobia which included or was directed at Scandinavians, the community was ever ready to defend itself. There was the case of the Labour M.P. for Port Melbourne, called Sangster, who accused inaccurately Scandinavian ship-owners of employing foreign seamen at lower rates than those current in Australia.[110] This caused a public outcry as did the case of the magistrate Panton who told some Danish offenders who appeared before him that

> they are not wanted here and had better behave themselves as Englishmen.[11]

There are two recorded instances of violence against Scandinavians. A Swede, called Andersen, who ran the Excelsior Coffee Palace at Bairnsdale, was stoned by the outraged local citizens because he did not fly the Union Jack at the town's celebration of the relief of Mafeking.[112] The proprietor of a general store at Castlemaine, J.H. Jørgensen, was attacked at home by hostile locals at the peace celebrations at the conclusion of the Boer War. This was one of three instances against the same man.[113] Lyng commented,

> But we live unfortunately in the age of jingoism and blindness.[114]

Such instances are, however, rare in the field of Scandinavian-Australian communal relations.

The common attitude was positive. It was often expressed that Scandinavians made excellent colonists.[115] Lord Glasgow's complimentary comments when he was governor-general of New Zealand were often quoted in Australia.[116] The Danes were often praised for their farming methods, and Mr. Hjorte of Colac was reported to be a "pioneer for his whole district" in the implementation of new techniques.[117] C.A. Nobelius of Emerald commanded such respect that he was visited by the governor and some leading politicians, who closely inspected his plant nursery.[118] Likewise, the Danish settlement in Gippsland was reported as being a model settlement by Lyng and others.[119]

The Scandinavians were generally popular. In April 1899 a Danish team took part in a tug-of-war at the Exhibition Building against four teams of other nations, all of them English-speaking, as a promotion appeal for St Vincent's Roman Catholic Hos-

pital. The worthy Danes acquitted themselves, well, coming third and winning the hearts of the public.[120] At the end of the year when a Danish diver fell ill, the hospital authorities hastily admitted him, adding that "All Danes are welcome."[121]

6.15 Scandinavian Participation in Communal Life. Because of their cultural background, political and social structures, Protestant religion and languages closely related to English, the Scandinavians found participation in Australian life not difficult. But again I need to stress that the records largely reflect the activities of the articulate middle class. From all indications the working class fitted in just as easily.

We have already seen how the Scandinavian settlers were ready to participate in general communal activities, such as the celebration for the opening of federal parliament and the anniversary of the South Melbourne Council. They also took part in the annual collection on Hospital Sunday in October.[122]

There was great interest and pride in the Scandinavians who were successful in the community at large. Melbourne did not have any outstanding Scandinavian citizens comparable to Sir Edward Knox in Sydney. The Danish citizens of Melbourne were forced to turn to brewer Jacob Cohn of Bendigo for patronage in their efforts to have Cecilia Andersen released. Yet there was great pride in those who held important positions or performed outstanding deeds, such as Peter Hansen, the decorator, Ole Kunig, the superintendent of the Immigrants' Home which later became the Victorian Home for the Aged and Inform; and V. Wijnbladh, the superintendent of the Old Colonists' Home and the academically successful son of Consul Gundersen.[123]

It was with pride that one could point out that Scandinavians could support themselves. *Norden* was glad to report that there were only six Scandinavian inmates in the Victorian Home for the Aged and Infirm.[124] When an appeal was made in the paper for Andrew Petersen, a destitute shoe-shine, this worthy man was reported to have said to Lyng that he did not want to go to the poor house (fattiggården) and the editor added that he respected such a sentiment.[125] On another occasion when Lyng reported a foul murder by a Swede, Emil Forsell, he felt constrained to add that the criminal was "unemployed" as well as "drunk" at the time.[126]

The Scandinavians often expressed feelings of pride in their own community and in their contribution to the Australian community at large. The mayor of Williamstown, James Hall, a lawyer who advised the Danes in their appeal for Cecilia Andersen, was rewarded by being appointed the consulting solicitor to Dannebrog and the citation said, "He helped the Danes maintain their honour in Melbourne."[127]

7.0 Conclusion

The Scandinavian community in Melbourne from 1870 to 1910 constituted the second largest non-British ethnic group. We have seen how Scandinavians established communal organisations for the benefit of the first generation of settlers but not for the perpetuation of language or of national traditions. The settlers did not generally maintain their language beyond the immigrant generation. Yet they were often deeply conscious of and communicated within their families a sense of distinctiveness because of their Scandinavian or more particularly of their Danish, Norwegian or Swedish origins. From my own interviews with the first generation of families which migrated

at the beginning of the century, I have observed a strong awareness of and pride in their Scandinavian background, although the language had been lost. In successive generations there is often immense pride in having had a Scandinavian ancestor.

In this paper I have outlined the main contours of the forms of social life in the community and of the patterns of assimilation and the maintenance of ethnicity of Scandinavians in Melbourne and Victoria. But it only throws into sharp focus the vast amount of research that has to be done. We need to study in detail the individuals who comprised the Scandinavian community, to ascertain their background, reasons for immigration, date and method of arrival, social status before and after emigration, patterns of life in Australia and their descendants.

At the dinner in Ballarat in 1869 to celebrate in the Antipodes the royal wedding in Scandinavia the task of saying "tak for mad" fell to a Dane called C.A. Tuxen. He commented that he and his fellow Scandinavians had adopted Australia as their home and as the birth-country of their children. He added,

> We shall find a joy in telling our children about the dear country in the far north and in making them love it as we have done.[128]

Notes

1. In the La Trobe Library in Melbourne the file of *Norden* starts with no. 39, November 1897. There are no copies of *Hjemlandstoner*, the church magazine which preceded *Norden*.
2. For the background of Melbourne see the works by Davison, (1978), Grant and Serle (1957) and Serle (1971).
3. Cronqvist (1859) p. 40.
4. Lyng (1901a), p. 30.
5. *Norden* (No. 296) 5/10/1907. Lyng reports an interview with an old Norwegian inhabitant of Melbourne of the 1850's who later moved to New Zealand.
6. Koivukangas (1974) p. 150.
7. Koivukangas (1974) p. 150.
8. Koivukangas (1974) p. 144.
9. Lyng (1901a) p. 105.
10. Lyng (1939) pp. 31-32.
11. *Norden* (No. 661) 29/4/1922.
12. *Norden* (No. 76) April 1899.
13. Lyng (1939) p. 23.
14. Lyng (1939) p. 23.
15. The earlier *Norden* (No. 2) 30/7/1857; (No. 3) 6/8/1858. The later *Norden* (No. 151) 8/3/1902, (No. 154) 19/4/1902, No. 156) 17/5/1902; Lyng (1939) pp. 52-54.
16. Lyng did not mention the existance of this club in (1901b) but he later heard about its existence and wrote of it in his work (1939) p. 54.
17. Lyng mentions this club in (1939) p. 55, but in his earlier work (1901b) p. 145 he did not know of its existence and called the club of the 1850's the first one.
18. Lyng (1901b) pp. 139-140.
19. Lyng (1901b) p. 144; Lyng (1939) p. 55.
20. For a surv y of the Danish clubs of the 1880's see Lyng (1901b) pp. 144-5; Lyng (1939) p. 55.
21. Lyng (1901b) pp. 146-149, 151-155; Lyng (1939) pp. 55-57.
22. *Norden* (No. 98) 14/2/1900.
23. *Norden* (No. 260) 12/5/1906.
24. Lyng (1901b) pp. 155-7; Lyng (1939) p. 56; *Norden* (No. 109) 28/7/1900.

25. *Norden* (No. 251) 13/11/1909.
26. Almqvist (1973) pp. 1-12; Eilert (1981) p. 9.
27. Eilert (1981) pp. 14-17.
28. For the Carlsen period see Eilert (1981) pp. 18-19.
29. Eilert (1981) pp. 19-23.
30. Eilert (1981) pp. 27-42.
31. *Norden* (No. 44) January 1898.
32. *Norden* (No. 89) 21/10/1899.
33. *Norden* (No. 99) 10/3/1900.
34. *Norden* (No. 242) 2/9/1905.
35. *Norden* (No. 39) November 1895, (No. 147) 11/1/1902.
36. *Norden* (No. 61) September 1898.
37. *Norden* (No. 298) 2/11/1907.
38. *Norden* (No. 342) 7/8/1909; (No. 344) 18/9/1909; (No. 345) 2/10/1909.
39. Unfortunately the archives at the La Trobe Library begin with only No. 39 of September 1897.
40. Lyng (1939) pp. 61-9.
41. Martin (1972); Unikoski (1978).
42. Unikoski (1978) p. 274.
43. Grant and Serle (1952) p.10.
44. Henderson (1981) p. 21; Lodewyckx (1932) p. 36.
45. Warner and Srole (1945) p. 256.
46. Ibid p. 264.
47. Unikoski (1978) pp. 275-7.
48. Martin (1972) p. 132.
49. *Norden* (No. 47) March 1898.
50. *Norden* (No. 200) 23/1/1904.
51. *Norden* (No.60) September 1898.
52. *Norden* (No. 95) 11/1/1900.
53. *Norden* (No. 89) 21/10/1899.
54. *Norden* (No. 192) 3/10/1903.
55. *Norden* (No. 147) 11/1/1902; (No. 173) 26/12/1902.
56. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) pp. 16-17; Unikoski (1978) p. 274.
57. *Norden* (No. 42) December 1897; (No. 173) 10/1/1903.
58. *Norden* (No. 41) December 1897; (No. 42) December 1897; (No. 116) 3/11/1900.
59. *Norden(* (No. 66) November 1898.
60. *Norden* (No. 50)April 1898.
61. *Norden* (No. 153) 5/4/1902.
62. *Norden* (No. 230) 18/4/1905.
63. *Norden* (No. 141) 19/10/1801; (No. 280) 23/2/1907.
64. *Norden* See Note 55.
65. *Norden* (No. 181) 2/5/1903.
66. *Norden* (No. 264) 21/7/1906.
67. *Norden* (No. 191) 19/9/1903; (No. 192) 3/10/1903.
68. *Norden* (No. 216) 3/9/1904; (No. 254) 27/2/1906.
69. *Norden* (No. 43) January 1898; (No. 52) May 1898.
70. For the Danish library see *Norden* (No. 99) 10/3/1900; for the Swedish see (No. 106) 16/6 1900; (No. 108) 14/7/1900; for the Norwegian (No. 110) 11/8/1900.
71. We hear that a travelling library (ett vandrande bibliotek) was to be sent out by some patriotic Swedes to foster Swedish nationalism and the Swedish language amongst expatriate Swedes around the world (*Norden* (No. 301) 14/12/1907). It apparently did not reach Melbourne.
72. *Norden* (No. 61) September 1898.
73. *Norden* (No. 124) 20/2/1901.
74. *Norden* (No. 39) November 1897; (No. 71) February 1899; (No. 77) March 1899; (No. 129) 14/2/1901; (No. 173) 7/2/1903.

75. *Norden* (No. 186) 11/7/1903.
76. *Norden* (No. 59) August 1898.
77. *Norden* (No. 110) 11/8/1900.
78. *Norden* (No. 144) 30/11/1901; (No. 226) 21/1/1905; (No. 280) 23/2/1907.
79. The pattern which emerges is not unlike that which Unikoski (1978) observed in three diverse post World War II groups she examined.
80. Unikoski (1978) p. 277.
81. Unikoski (1978) pp. 282-3.
82. Jupp (1966) p. 40.
83. Lyng (1901a) p. 98.
84. *Norden* (No. 55) June 1898.
85. *Norden* (No. 49) April 1898.
86. *Norden* (No. 151) 8/3/1902.
87. *Norden* (No. 122) 26/1/1901.
88. Johnson (1925) p. 59.
89. *Norden* (No. 225) 7/1/1905.
90. *Norden* (No. 270) 29/9/1906.
91. *Norden* (No. 279) 9/2/1907.
92. *Norden* (No. 157) 31/5/1902; (No. 159) 28/6/1902.
93. Fishman (1977) especially pp. 25-26.
94. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977) p. 172; Ekstrand, Foster, Olkiewicz and Stankovski pp. 27-32.
95. *Norden* (no. 298) 2/11/1907.
96. See Eilert (1981) especially ch. 4, pp. 43-53, for the story of the church 1906-8.
97. *Norden* (No. 91) 18/11/1899.
98. *Norden* (No. 129) 4/5/1901; (No. 130) 18/5/1901.
99. *Norden* (No. 242) 2/9/1905.
100. *Norden* (No. 53) June 1898.
101. *Norden* (No. 132) 15/6/1901.
102. *Norden* (No. 113) 22/9/1900; (No. 114) 6/10/1900.
103. *Norden* (No. 237) 26/6/1905.
104. *Norden* (No. 261) 26/5/1906.
105. The original is not preserved in Melbourne, but he passage is quoted in *Norden* (No. 44) January 1898.
106. *Norden* (No. 57) July 1898.
107. *Norden* (No. 78) May 1899; (No. 80) June 1899.
108. *Norden* (No. 273) 10/11/1906.
109. *Norden* (No. 272) 15/12/1906. Although Count Mörner was consul-general to New South Wales and Queensland and was based in Sydney, he was popularly regarded by Swedes throughout Australia as their representative.
110. *Norden* (No. 272) 15/12/1906; (No. 174) 24/1/1903.
111. *Norden* (No. 96) 21/1/1900.
112. *Norden* (No. 160) 12/7/1902.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. *Norden* (No. 83) July 1899.
116. *Norden* (No. 51) May 1898.
117. *Norden* (No. 187) 25/7/1903.
118. *Norden* (No. 248) 25/11/1905.
119. *Norden* (No. 83) July 1899.
120. *Norden* (No. 75) April 1899; (No. 76) April 1899.
121. *Norden* (No. 95) 11/11/1900.
122. *Norden* (No. 142) 2/11/1901.
123. *Norden* (No. 35) 27/7/1901; (No. 40) 5/10/1901; (N0. 166) 4/10/1902; (No. 190) 5/9/1903; (No. 275) 15/12/1906.
124. *Norden* (No. 190) 5/9/1903.

125. *Norden* (no. 280) 23/3/1907.
126. *Norden* (No. 170) 29/11/1902.
127. *Norden* (No. 183) 30/5/1903.
128. *Norden* (No. 156) 17/5/1902.

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2. Archives, Swedish Church, Melbourne.
3. Scandinavia-Australia Archives, University of Melbourne.
4. Norden (Scandinavian newspaper founded in 1859). Two copies are on microfilm at Emigrant Institute, Växjö. (No. 2) 30/7/1859, (No. 3) 6/8/1859.
5. Norden (Scandinavian newspaper founded in 189?). Copies from and including (No. 39) November 1897 are preserved in the La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

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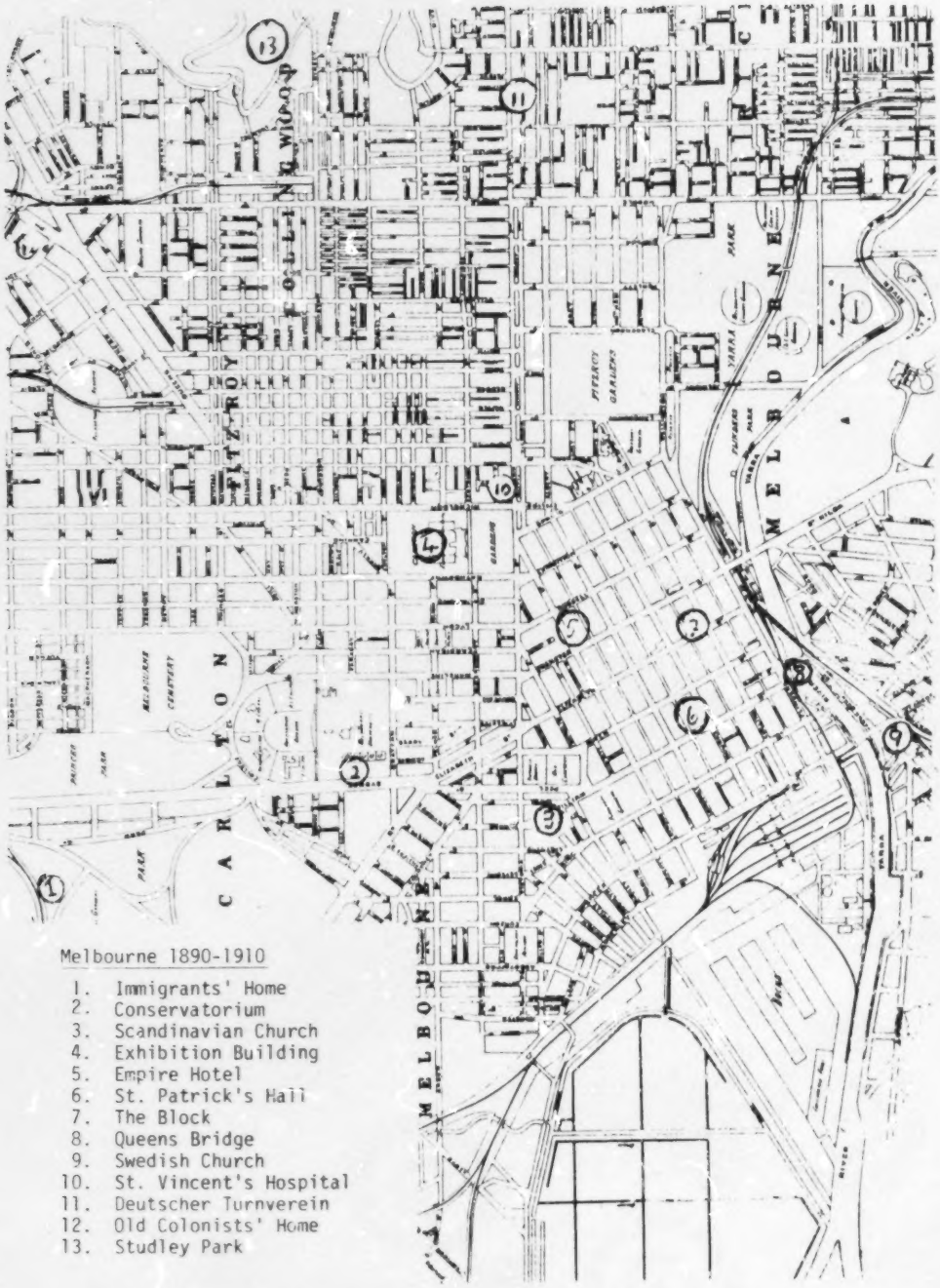

Melbourne 1890-1910

1. Immigrants' Home
2. Conservatorium
3. Scandinavian Church
4. Exhibition Building
5. Empire Hotel
6. St. Patrick's Hall
7. The Block
8. Queens Bridge
9. Swedish Church
10. St. Vincent's Hospital
11. Deutscher Turnverein
12. Old Colonists' Home
13. Studley Park

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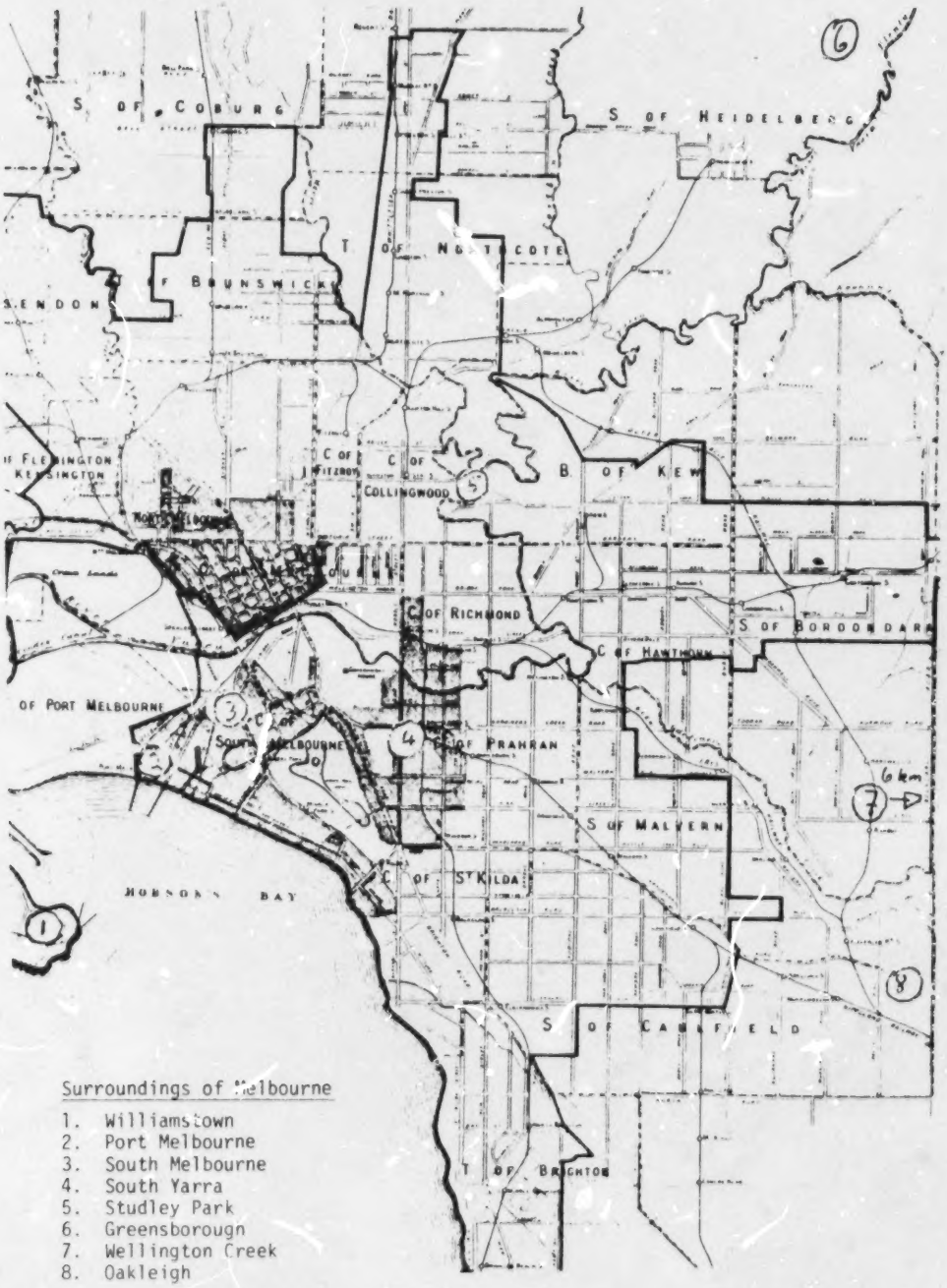

Surroundings of Melbourne

1. Williamstown
2. Port Melbourne
3. South Melbourne
4. South Yarra
5. Studley Park
6. Greensborough
7. Wellington Creek
8. Oakleigh

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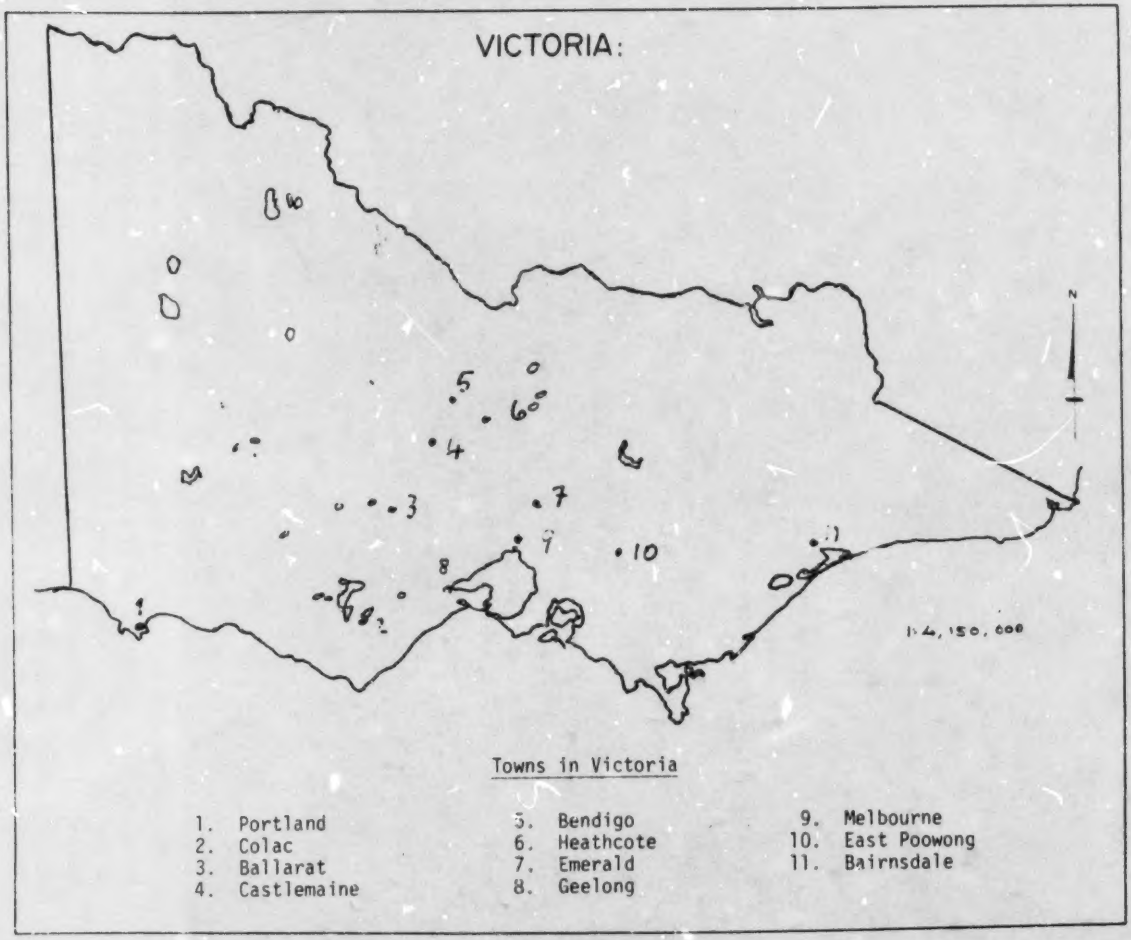
VICTORIA:
1:4,150,000
Towns in Victoria
1. Portland
2. Colac
3. Ballarat
4. Castlemaine
5. Bendigo
6. Heathcote
7. Emerald
8. Geelong
9. Melbourne
10. East Poowong
11. Bairnsdale

LANGUAGE USE AND ETHNICITY AMONG THE SWEDISH COMMUNITY IN MELBOURNE

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Victoria College, Clayton

Introduction

This paper is a report of the first stage of a study of the relationship between language use among immigrant communities in Melbourne, Australia. The study is endeavouring to draw profiles of some of these communities in order to explore some of the theoretical relationships between linguistic and sociological phenomena among such groups. The first stage, which is reported here, focused on Swedish immigrants and their descendants. The research was conducted at Rusden (now Victoria) College; the project was devised and supervised by the author, and the basic fieldwork was conducted by third year Applied Linguistics students, with the advice of the Swedish section, Department of Germanic Studies of the University of Melbourne. (1)

The second stage of the project, which is now under way, is investigating in detail some of the issues concerning language maintenance and shift in the Swedish community, the nature of the Swedish used in the sommunity and the influence on it of English. (2)

The questions behind the research presented in this paper are:

What are the domains and extent of the use of Swedish and English, and the level of mastery of each among the Swedish speech community?

To what extent does ethnicity in this community affect language use, choice and level of mastery?

Description of the Project

The project made case-studies of some 25 individuals, selected as widely representative of the community; in addition, less detailed information was gathered from a further approximately 50 informants, and descriptive studies were made of the various Swedish cultural institutions in Melbourne. These data were informed wherever possible by the historical perspectives of J.S. Martin's research and the demographic data from O. Koivukangas' study of Scandinavian immigration. A pattern in the data became evident early in the project, and further investigations served to confirm strongly the first hypotheses made on this basis. We are therefore confident that the picture presented here, for all its generality, is substantially accurate.

The case-studies were compiled on the basis of a detailed questionnaire which was completed during an interview with the informant. Owing to the fact that none of the interviewers involved at the first stage could speak Swedish, these interviews were conducted in English, and the picture of the extent and domains of language use had, for the most part, to rely on the informants' own reports. However, there was some opportunity for the author to observe language use in normal situations in which the speakers were unaware of the fact that their behaviour was being observed; observations of this type will form the major part of the second stage of the project, and it is hoped that the data collected will help to systematise the discrepancies between actual and reported uses of language. Some unsystematic observations were also recorded by S. Burns in her study of the Swedish church and by J.S. Martin in his many contacts with the community.

The Swedish Speech Community

This was defined as comprising all persons living in Melbourne who were born in Sweden or a Swedish-speaking community elsewhere in Scandinavia, or who have at least one parent of such origins, and who regularly use or have used Swedish as a means of communication, however limited this use may be. (3)

Although the figures for Swedish from the 1976 census (the first to include a question on language use) were not processed, reliable estimates of the community according to our definition are 2,000 - 2,500. (4) In general, the community comprises two types of immigrants:

I) Those who arrived before the Second World War, who were typically of a lower socio-economic and educational status, and their descendants, and

II) Post-war immigrants, who were typically of a higher socio-economic and educational status, and their descendants.

Linguistic Profile of the Community

All members of the Swedish speech community display a considerable mastery of English at all levels of the linguistic system.

English is regarded as at least a feasible (and sometimes a preferable) alternative to Swedish for all public functions of language, including cultural and religious activities, business, committees, receptions and public writing.

For personal language functions, Swedish is usually, but not always, preferred, the extent of its use varying both with the intimacy of the purposes of use and with sociological factors of the speaker, such as age, length of residence in Australia, frequency of contact with other speakers, etc. Praying, talking to one's infant child or to oneself, writing family letters, and the keeping of personal diaries the functions for which Swedish is most likely to be used. The same is true of reading for pleasure, although the availability of suitable materials affects the choice of language. Swedish is also extensively used for unreflective personal activities, such as counting, adding up and swearing. Those persons most likely to use Swedish for personal language functions are recent immigrants, those who retain frequent contact with the language, those who complet-

ed their schooling in Swedish and the elderly.

On the other hand, for informal public functions, such as family discussions or conversations at Swedish social gatherings, English is sometimes preferred. When both languages are equally available to all speakers, the topic may be the deciding variable (e.g., Swedish politics and sport will be discussed in Swedish, Australian politics and sport in English). Both languages may be interchanged, with code-switching occurring. (5).

A few other languages are used by community members but for very limited purposes and to varying degrees of reported level of mastery. They include French and/or German, learnt at school in Sweden, and other Scandinavian languages, usually learnt from a spouse or close friend.

Attitudes towards the Use of Swedish

Members of the community fo not profess to be greatly concerned about maintaining Swedish. Although most first-generation speakers make some effort to practise the language, and a few second- and even third-generation immigrants have made some attempts at relearning it, such efforts are usually motivated by personal ends (reasons given include, "I ought to keep it up in case I ever go to Sweden," "Bilingualism is good for you") and not for community ends. There is a notable lack of concern, by contrast with other ethnic groups, with maintaining the language by the community as an expression of ethnicity. The community members themselves give as reasons for this phenomenon that Swedish is of no international importance and that it is too limited in expressiveness (usually attributed to vocabulary) by comparison with English for most purposes.

Influences on the Use of Swedish

Sociolinguists still only poorly understand the reasons for the varied and fluctuating use and performance of linguistic minorities. At best we can indicate some of the influences on these phenomena. In the case of the Swedish speech community, four major influences may be singled out.

I) Attitudes towards assimilation: many of those we interviewed were proud of their undoubted ability to assimilate into Australian society; several regarded this as a national characteristic of Swedes. Indeed, it has been noted in other studies elsewhere in the world and was remarked upon by the early writer on Scandinavians in Australia, Jens Lyng. This conscious desire not to stand out in a host society provides a strong motivation for Swedes in Australia not to use their language in public contexts.

II) Linguistic etiquette: there is a strongly held attitude that it is improper to use Swedish in the presence of someone who may not be entirely comfortable speaking it. All of our informants were very sensitive to the feelings of others in this respect, and so tended to use English for public language functions unless they were sure that all present were fluent in Swedish. This applied even to the extent that a group of Swedes was observed to switch to English when they were joined by two Norwegians who are, on their own claim, quite at home in Swedish and who were well known to the

group's members.

III) Linguistic similarity of Swedish and English: the close consonance at all levels of the linguistic system of the two languages contributes to the ease with which Swedish speakers master English. The role of this fact must not be overestimated (as is done by Lyng and by Koivukangas); it contributes mainly to the high level of mastery which Swedish speakers attain but does not explain their great desire to learn English in the first place. The same shift away from the public use of Swedish was observed by Flodell in a Swedish speech community in Argentina, despite the large dissimilarity between Spanish and Swedish.

IV) All recent immigrants from Sweden have arrived in Australia with a good basic command of English, owing to its importance within the Swedish education system. This means that they do not suffer the initial contact problems of many other immigrant groups, who often experience a sense of rejection because of the difficulty of making even their basic needs understood. In the case of many people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds who have been interviewed by Rusden College students over the past three years, such early experiences have led to some latent or overt hostility towards English and its speakers, which has persisted long after the migrants have mastered enough English to function efficiently within Australian society.

Ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" is defined by Cohen (pp. ix-x) as follows:

> An ethnic group is a collectivity of people who (a) share some patterns of normative behaviour (i.e., symbolic formations and activities) and (b) form part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of the social system. The term ethnicity refers to the degree of conformity by members of the collective to these shared norms in the course of social interaction.

Fishman identifies three major components in ethnicity: paternity, patrimony (how ethnic collectivities behave and how its members express their membership) and phenomenology (the meanings that members of the collective drive from their paternity and patrimony). In summary,

> ethnicity is the cup of custom (patrimony), passed on by one's parents (paternity), from which one drinks the meaning of existence ...through which one envisions life (phenomenology). (Fishman, page 24)

As these three elements vary in their salience for an individual or group, so ethnicity varies. The least variable is of course paternity, which remains a biological and historical fact, but the salience of any of these elements may vary over time, depending on a host of factors.

The relationship between language and ethnicity is complex. At its most explicit, it is reflected in the deliberate, conscious maintenance of the language of an ethnic collective as a symbol of its "ethnic identity" (which typically refers to the self-identification of patrimony: "our way of doing things" as opposed to "their way of doing things"). Language then functions as the most public and identifiable symbol of the enormous variety of tangible and intangible phenomena which constitute the patrimony , and it is the most likely choice for a rallying-point of a political movement of a

minority which perceives itself as disadvantaged. (Other possible candidates include distinctive modes of dress, religious practices, observance of particular festivals and holy days, family structures and practices, and cuisine. Such symbols are however usually, though not always, linked to distinctive language choice.)

In a less overt fashion the fluctuations in salience of patrimony for a particular collective are often reflected in an increase or decrease in the use of the ethnic language by its members. The language will tend to be retained longest in those groups and for those activities which are concerned specifically with encouragement or expression of ethnic patrimony, but this retention will be influenced greatly by factors such as the group's desire to stress or play down its exclusive in-group character. Sometimes the language itself may be the most salient aspect of the patrimony, and special language teaching programmes may be developed within the group with the primary aim of keeping the languege alive within the younger generations. If the ethnic group concerned is an immigrant group, these measures may often be counter-productive: the younger generation may reject the language, for which they have no need in the host society, and along with it the whole patrimony with which it is identified.

The relationship of phenomenology and language is even more complex and elusive to the observer of ethnic collectives. It is reflected in the use of a minority language which is tied to particular ways of looking at the world; these are felt to be inexpressible and even inconceivable in another language. This occurs with distinctive forms of religious practice (such as Judaism, Orthodox Christianity, Islam and tribal religions) but occurs wherever the language is felt to be an integral part of the world-view or philosophy being expressed.

Ethnicity among the Swedish Speech Community

During the major part of their history in Australia, ethnicity among Swedish settlers has been low. With sporadic exceptions, the community has been unorganised and invisible in the wider society. There are signs that this is changing, however, and a small but noticeable Swedish community now exists in several Australian states, in particular in Melbourne. The influences on ethnicity which have brought about these phenomena are discussed below.

Factors Tending to Lower Ethnicity

The lack of large-scale, continuous immigration has meant that Swedish group consciousness has been hard to sustain for long periods. This is both because the absence of a large collective, constantly supplied with new members, tends to stagnation and often negative conservatism and fragmentation within the group, and because without the resources of finance and personnel, organised activities for the reinforcement of ethnicity become hard to sustain.

The scattered nature of Swedish settlement, especially of the earlier itinerant miners and sailors, has exacerbated the effects of the above.

The imbalance between the sexes, particularly before the Second World War, has led to extensive intermarrying.

Those factors which tend to draw migrants together in their new environment have been singularly lacking in the history of the Swedes in Australia. With the exception of isolated individuals, Swedish emigration to Australia has never been the result of religious or political oppression at home. Hence the centrifugal force of unity in persecution, which has sustained many refugee groups (for example, the Germans in South Australia), has been lacking. Swedes, even when they have migrated in large numbers, have tended to do so as a number of individuals, rather than as a cohesive collective.

Added to this are the splintering effects which usually tend to be felt among immigrant groups and to which there has been no countervailing tendency of the type mentioned above. The Swedish communities that have existed have experienced various rifts, usually reflecting social, political or religious differences in the home society. Changing allegiances between the Scandinavian nations have at times aggravated the process of schism.

The generally low level of education among the first generations of immigrants has limited the possibilities for cultural assertiveness.

The lack of intellectual and cultural leadership has been noted by earlier writers (Lyng, Koivukangas). An ethnic collective must be constantly reinforcing and extending its phenomenology, as well as developing new forms for the expression of ethnicity more consonant with its adopted society. It needs new techniques of socialising its rising generations into developing their own phenomenology, whilst maintaining its patrimony. In other words, ethnicity, if it is to survice, must be a dynamic, evolving force and not merely nostalgic and conservative. Patrimony may be passed on by cultural artifacts and activities, but by themselves these rapidly become little more than fossils and oddities, often reflecting aspects of the culture which in the mother country have long since been abandoned. A developing phenomenology relies for its vigour on the influence of powerful leaders, who can teach the members both by insinuation and overtly, thus heightening a sense of self-worth and contributing to the maintenance of ethnicity. Despite the prominent positions attained by many Swedes in Australia, there have been remarkably few who have played the role of ethnic leaders for their own people.

Factors Tending to Heighten Ethnicity

Factors tending to heighten ethnicity have been largely institutional. The role of institutions in the use of language and maintenance of ethnicity are at present being further investigated; it is clear that the most influential institutions have been churches, newspapers (and recently the electronic media) and, in earlier times, clubs.

Swedish Churches

Only in Melbourne have any Scandinavian settlers a history of organised church life. A congregation representing Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians existed with a regular pastor, but without its own building, from the 1880's until the constitutional dissolution of the three countries led to a break up of the congregation in Melbourne in 1905.

Two years later, a Swedish church was established in its own building. This church has continued to the present day and is now accommodated in a former governor's residence in Toorak. During its long history, this church has also been bedevilled at times by internicine strife - a fact which it shares with many similar ethnic churches in Australia. - Nonetheless, the church is now the well-established centre for Swedish religious and cultural activities in Melbourne and has in recent years provided the focal point which was so long lacking for the community. It also caters for other Scandinavian groups and has played a role in the increase in Scandinavian ethnicity, which has been noted in the last few years.

Swedish Clubs

As with the churches, the history of Scandinavian clubs in Australia has been chequered. Many have been established, but only the Danish Club in Melbourne has outlived the initial enthusiasm of its founders. Swedish clubs, apart from some church-related activity groups, have played little part in the community's life in Melbourne.

Media

The first Scandinavian paper appeared on the Ballarat goldfields but lasted for only a few numbers; the same has been the fate of many similar organs. Since 1979, the Scandinavian Courier has been providing a high-standard ethnic newspaper for "Scandinavian born Australians." This paper is of course not specifically Swedish, but it does help to foster ethnicity among all Scandinavians, which is the present trend in Australia. A useful function is being served by the regular Swedish broadcasts on Melbourne's ethnic radio station, 3EA, but it is too early yet to evaluate these properly.

Recent Heightening of Ethnicity

As mentioned above, there has been in the past five years an increasingly visible movement towards heightening ethnicity among all Scandinavian groups in Australia, marked by the establishment of the Swedish school, the *Scandinavian Courier*, the radio broadcasts in all Scandinavian languages and the Victorian Scandinavian Association. It is not clear exactly what motivates these developments, but they coincide with similar developments in other ethnic communities and reflect general trends towards cultural pluralism in Australian society as a whole.

Ethnicity and Language Use

Our study found no significant correlation between the maintenance of or preference for Swedish and ethnicity. Several of those informants who showed the highest level of retention of the language for private purposes make no effort to keep in touch with the speech community as a whole and do not support either the church or its cultural activities. Paradoxically, most of the most ethnically-conscious informants

prided themselves on their ability to use English interchangeably with Swedish and insisted on the importance of not using the latter in public contexts in which this might give offence. The reasons typically given for their desire to maintain Swedish were almost entirely private rather than community oriented.

After studying the informants' responses, we conducted an investigation into those institutions which have played some part in the maintenance of ethnicity among the community and which therefore have the potential to influence language choice and use. In simple summary, the findings were as follows.

I) The Swedish Church is the centre of the community. In addition to its religious activities, it provides premisses for social clubs and festivals, and possesses the largest library in Australia of Scandinavian books, mainly in the Scandinavian languages. It has officially a local membership of about 250, but only a small proportion of these use the facilities regularly. A survey of 40 people who used the premisses over a four-week period revealed that for one in three the church is the only place in which they had the opportunity to speak Swedish. Neverthless, when questioned about language use in a variety of contexts, fewer than half claimed to speak only Swedish at the church (and since such claims are normally exaggerated in favour of desired usage, the actual figure is probably much less), and nearly one in five reported using only English. These figures are clearly only rough indicators, but since the informants were regular attenders at the church, and hence one could presume the most likely to see the church as a language-maintaining agency, it appears that the influence of this institution on language maintenance, as opposed to ethnicity maintenance, is small. This impression is borne out by the fact that official business is conducted variously in English and other Scandinavian languages as well as Swedish; the minutes have usually been kept in the secretary's native language.

II) Some ten Swedish firms have their Australian head offices in Melbourne. Of these, only four have any Swedish-speaking employees, and none has a policy of preferring Swedish speakers for executive positions. For all aspects of business, including communication with the parent company in Sweden, English is the normal choice of language. Some of the Swedish-speaking employees expressed a preference for the use of Swedish in private discussions within the firm or for doing business with other Swedish speakers whom they know well. The four firms with Swedish-speaking employees make available a selection of Swedish papers for these staff. Apart from this small aspect, Swedish firms appear to play no role in the maintenance of the language in Melbourne. Some, however, do assist Swedish cultural activities and the teaching of the language at the university by financial contributions; here again is evident a separation of language from ethnicity.

III) Since 1980, Swedish broadcasts have been made on 3EA for three-quarters of an hour each week. They are usually conducted entirely in Swedish, except for a brief English news segment, and contain much excellently-presented material likely to be of interest to local Swedish speakers. It could be expected that these broadcasts would be an important influence on the maintenance of the language and on the heightening of ethnicity. The surprising lack of overt support they receive from the speech community suggests that, whatever their role may be in the personal

maintenance of Swedish (and without overt response this is impossible to gauge), their role as an agency of ethnicity is very limited.

IV) The *Scandinavian Courier* is probably the leading influence on the emerging Scandinavian ethnic self-awareness. Its role as a language agency is rather insignificant, however, in view of the fact that in each edition only one page is devoted to each of the four major Nordic countries in the relevant language (the page of news from Finland is written in Swedish).

These four institutions reveal in different ways the same separation of language issues from ethnicity which was observed among the individual Swedish speakers. There remain two institutions, however, which are devoted to the teaching of the language, and we investigated the role of these both in the maintenance of the language among members of the speech community and in the encouragement of ethnicity. The institutions are the Swedish ethnic school and the Swedish section of the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Melbourne.

V) The ethnic school conducts classes in the evenings and at weekends for all ages of primary and secondary school children. The older students at the time of our investigation (April 1981) were short-term residents whose parents wished them to maintain their Swedish in preparation for their return to Scandinavia. The school plays a crucial role then for this special sub-group of the community; its other major role is to provide contact for the younger children with children's Swedish, which is available nowhere else outside some homes. There can be no doubt about the important, specialised role of this school in the maintenance of the language in Melbourne; however, the small number of pupils attending at the time of the investigation (8-9 secondary school children, all girls, and 20-25 primary school children of both sexes) suggests that it is not an important influence on ethnicity or language for the larger community.

VI) The Swedish section at the university provides the only degree-level teaching of the language in Australia. It has two full-time staff members and shares a secretary. We surveyed the entire student body in first term, 1981, as well as all of those students from the past six years who had some Scandinavian backgroud, a total of about 40 persons. Only six claimed to have undertaken the course in order to improve upon Swedish they already had learned at home, and of these none indicated that their successful completion of the course had contributed to their becoming more integrated into the Swedish community. It appears that the department's role is largely that of a foreign-language institute, and it therefore plays no significant role in the maintenance of the language or of ethnicity among the community in Melbourne.

Conclusion

Our study found that the answers to the two questions posited as the basis of the research project were as follows.

The domains of Swedish are mainly private language functions. For most interpersonal functions, English is at least as likely a choice as Swedish and, for most public functions of language, is the preferred language. The questions of the extent and levels

of mastery of each language could not be properly answered on the basis of our findings, and these questions are being further investigated in the next stage of the study.

Ethnicity has always been and remains fairly low among the speech community, although recent developments suggest a heightening of ethnicity in the context of pan-Scandinavian movements in Australia. There is a very clear separation of ethnicity from language maintenance within the Swedish speech community, the one appearing to have very little relation to the other in either personal or institutional contexts.

Notes

1. The students who participated were:
In 1980: W. Anderson, T. DiBerardino, S Giblett, M. Krieger, D. Marsh, A-M. O'Brien, G. Paterson, D. Pellizzer, G. Pitches, G. Reagan, F. Reich, D. Rumere, L. Thomas, G. Walker, G. Wood.
In 1981: M. Bartlett, M. Battaglia, O. Boudoukos, M. Brennan, S. Clarke-Jones, S. Corser, A. Crooks, C. Dalrymple, J. Deckker, J. Kalathas, A. Kordos, J. Morrish, C. Papadopoulos, C. Ward.
In addition, Sandra Burns completed a detailed study of the Swedish church.

Our thanks are due to Dr. J.S. Martin, senior lecturer in Swedish and Old Icelandic at the University of Melbourne, for his encouragement and help. We also wish to record our gratitude to the many Swedish speakers who agreed to be interviewed, observed and discussed, and to Pastor Håkan Eilert for assisting us in our study of the church.

2. This topic is the subject of the author's Ph.D. research at the University of Melbourne.
3. It should be evident from this definition that the term "community" does not imply social cohesiveness among its members. One aspect of the second stage of the study is to ascertain how much the Swedish speakers in Melbourne show characteristics of community in the narrower sence of the word. This aspect of communality in the community will be compared with that in other immigrant communities.
4. This figure can be arrived at in several ways. The simplest is based on the number of persons actually born in Sweden who live in Melbourne, with allowance made for a proportion of those born in Finland who speak Swedish, and for those of the second and later generations who still use the language.
5. This phenomenon is now being studied in detail; a particularly interesting example occurred in the laboratory notes of a scientific researcher, which were found, much to his surprise, to switch continuously from one language to the other.

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THE FINNS IN BUNYIP

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Adelaide

The Finnish community in Bunyip is dispersed in eight separate households higgledy-piggledy amongst the other inhabitants. There are about 350 houses in Bunyip, which is a Housing Trust development. All of the houses are built of timber with timber floors and timber walls and galvanised iron roofs. They are cold in winter and hot in summer. The community is separeted by a main arterial highway from the Sapfor factory, which employs the population of Bunyip. Two of the Finns have telephones, P. Pakarinen and P.J. Heinonen.

Bunyip is a small timber-felling community in southeast Australia. It lies at 37 degrees south and is on the margin of the most fertile and productive land in Australia, where beef cattle and marino sheep industries are off-set by a premier wine growing area and established cereal and oil-seed production. The southeast part of South Australia produces between 40 and 50 per cent of Australia's softwood products. Plantations of *pinus radiata* have been sewn and, besides cellulose, provide everything from paper tissues to timber for the housing industry. As is usual in Australia, the industry is divided into a private enterprise wing, South Australian Perpetual Forests (SAPFOR), and the government sector, the South Australian Woods and Forests Department.

In May 1981 there were five Finnish family groups in Bunyip; the first to arrive were the Latvala family of 198 Goode Terrace, Bunyip. The came to Australia from Pieksämäki, near Mikkeli. There were seven members of the family, Richard and Helvi Latvala, who were both in their early 30's, and their five children, Kari, Rauno, Marianne and Janne, aged 14, 12, 10 and 8 years respectively. They have one child, Ramon, 7 years old, born in Australia. One member of the family Marianne, has since married. She married an Australian. All the older children and parents had high school educations in Finland. Richard had a variety of jobs and was an electrical fitter when he migrated. His father worked as a carpenter for the Finnish State Railways. When asked why they emigrated; Helvi Latvala said, "There was a big fever to come to Australia," and added, "I can't answer that question." She was the only respondent who said that she could not answer; in the end she answered better than anyone.

Helvi Latvala explained that in 1968 there were a large number of articles in Finnish newspapers urging Finns to migrate. She said that Rauno and she and her

husband had good jobs in Finland and were established, but they read a lot of books "from Australia" and had a friend who had migrated there in 1958. With another good friend in Finland, the Latvala's decided to come. At the last moment the friend could not sell his house, but Latvalas had sold theirs and so, partly assisted, they came. They had thought about it for ten years before migrating. They had no job lined up. They "took a chance." They came to Australia by air and, altnough they had friends in Adelaide, spent six months in Cabramatta migrant hostel. In Cabramatta, Helvi Latvala worked in a plastic factory run by a Latvian entrepreneur and packed medicine boxes with tablets. She found it enjoyable indoor work. The Latvala's working age children worked as follows: two boys as machinists in the Softwoods factory, and one daughter as assistant manager of Kentucky Fried Chicken shop in Mount Gambier, while the married daughter simply "travelled" as an Australian girl of early twenties might. In Cabramatta the Latvala income was 44 a week and the rent 39 a week, so they family moved to Bunyip where Richard Latvala got a job as a "pine feller" and a South Australian Housing Trust house that came with the job at a rental rate of 6 a week. The Housing Trust homes in Bunyip are wooden-walled, timber-framed, four-room dwellings with electricity, bathroom, toilet, wood store for cooking and heating, on a quarter acre suburban block. Like all the Finns in Bunyip, the Latvalas built a sauna but made no attempt to blend the house with the landscape itself create a Finnish-looking environment by planting birch shelter trees, for example. The area itself, surrounded on all sides by tens of thousands of hectares of *pinus radiata*, would readily have adapted to such conversion. Richard Latvala finds English difficult. He doesn't "speak so much." Helvi Latvala went to English classes at Cabramatta and is bilingual, like the youngest Finns in Bunyip, many of whom keep up Finnish in order to communicate with the parent who doesn't speak English, the mother in the case of the Ilmanen family, both parents in the case of the Sipilainens and elder Heinonens. The other Latvalas all speak English, and one of them is so assimilated that she has married an Australian, an event not much approved. For the first years the Latvalas missed Finland. Richard missed Christmas, especially the snow. "Christmas is different here, it's hot." The Latvalas discussed subtle differences of attitudes towards Christmas, observing that in Australia Christmas is celebrated out of doors and at a time when one hear "have a drink," that Australian Christmas is a festive family party, whereas the Finnish Christmas is essentially an elaborate ritual disguising personal reflection of an individual nature in an indoor setting at the mercy of cold and snow and darkness.

The Latvalas did not find the Australian standard of living too low. They had never been unemployed. They read a lot. Ilmanen loaned Finnish books from his large library to Richard Latvala. Helvi Latvala had the Finnish equivalent of the *Australian Women's Weekly* sent to her by her sister but found reading Finnish tedious and now only looked at the pictures. She preferred English books and newspapers.

The Latvalas said that all Finns in Bunyip socialize pretty well among themselves and with Australians. (The local Australian post-mistress gave a different story, suggesting that since Bunyip had a large Catholic population, the Finns were, as Protestants, not so intergrated as they might have been.) Visits from the Finnish pastor, Mäkelä, in Adelaide to the southeast, where he held services in Mount Gambier, and occasional Finnish games all brought the Finns together, as did occasional ser-

vices especially for Finns in a local Australian Lutheran Church.

In my observations on the Finnish socialising, I noted that the Latvalas were friendly with the elder Heinonens, whom they helped bring to Bunyip, that the two young Heinonens and their households (two pregnant de facto wives) ate at the elder Heinonens three times a week and let the elder Heinonen's younger children play at their houses, and that Sipilainen was very friendly "mates" with Latvala. (They discussed *inter alia* the problems of returning to Finland and being conscripted).

In the outside community there were at one time 25 Finns in the Bunyip primary school, half the Bunyip football team was said to be Finnish (an exaggeration in numbers if not in prowess and effectiveness) and the young Heinonen had, along with many others, a passion for motor bikes which broke down cultural differences. Latvala attended further education classes in Mount Gambier to meet Australians.

Mrs. Latvala, who was the Godmother of the Finnish community in Bunyip, said she spent her leisure in knitting and bingo. Richard Latvala played football, tried to start a disco in Bunyip, played guitar, went to night school and liked rabbit shooting. All Latvalas avoided a direct answer to the question "Will you become an Australian citizen?" "Can't say, waiting for the right opportunity." They would not consider Australianising their surname, but Richard Latvala already has an English christian name, and Australians call Helvi "Helen." They ate Finnish food. The Australian son-in-law loves *pulla*, and the Football Club Finnish donuts. They have it in mind to go back to Finland on holiday, but "not yet."

The Latvalas were the only family to offer the questioner coffee, and over coffee Helvi said that her father had migrated to America, and that she thought she had migration in the blood.

The largest Finnish clan group in Bunyip were the Heinonens, brought to the town by the Latvalas. Because there were so many of them, the Heinonens of 197 Goode Terrace, Bunyip, were the most difficult to interview. Seventeen Heinonens left Finland in 1970 for Australia. They were wholly assisted. They came from Nastola, 130 km from Helsinki. Mr. Heinonen was a bus driver with a primary education like that of his wife and school age children. The children on migrating were aged approximately as follows: Vesa 4 months, Jyri 12 months, Janne 2, Petri and Marko (twins) 4, Jaakko 6, Miika 7, Olli 8, Atso 9, Antti 10, Marjo 11, Pirjo 13, Pekka 16, Asko 17, Urpu 18.

They say they came to Australia for no particular reason. Mr. Heinonen thought about it for eight months (the time it took Australian Migration to process his application?) before migrating, but he said with an eager smile "I came as soon as I got the papers." The Heinonens came by air and went straight to Bunyip where all have lived since. Mr. Heinonens is a tree feller. He speaks almost no English. His wife speaks no English. The younger children are bilingual. Mr. and Mrs. Heinonen say they find English difficult. All members of the family say that they do not miss Finland and find the Australian standard of living "okay." They have read "a fair few" books in the last six months, "a lot" of newspapers, "bulk" Finnish ones, sent by mail from Finland and given by Latvala, and read news and information bulletins distributed by the Finnish Embassy in Canberra. The Heinonens are Finnish Lutherans, attend church "sometimes", list as hobbies "sports and camping." They don't know whether they will become Australian citizens, do eat Finnish food "fairly often",

would not "Australianize" their name. In 1980, Mr. and Mrs. Heinonen went home to Finland for a five week holiday. Their hobbies in Australia are fishing and hunting rabbits. Antti Heinonen was unusual among the Finns by answering, "Probably," to the question, "Will you become an Australian citizen?" He explained that it was easier to find work if naturalized, a statement at variance with everyone else's experience who worked in the albeit sheltered community of timber workers at Bunyip.

Two male Heinonens now have their own households in Bunyip. Pekka Heinonen of 106 Richie Street, Bunyip, now 26 years old, is living with a Yogoslav girl. He intends to stay. These questions were answered in his absence by his *de facto* wife. Pekka remembers that his father drove trucks and ran a fire station in Finland. Pekka himself works for a private contractor as a truck driver. He, like the other children, had no say in the decision to migrate. They knew only the Latvalas, and came directly to Bunyip. All was arranged. It had to be for 15 children. Pekka "gets on" in English. He misses the snow.

Pekka doesn't find the Australian standard of living too low. He likes it better. He hasn't found it difficult to find employment. He doesn't read any books, but the Church sends him a newsletter and he reads both Finnish and Australian newspapers. He is a Finnish Lutheran, but doesn't attend church. He likes fishing. He has not considered Australianizing his name, and Pekka and his Yugoslav *de facto* wife eat Finnish food fairly often at mother's. They also meet Finns at a Sports Carnival in other cities at Easter. They have one son, Stephen, born in Australia. Pekka would like to go back to Finland for a holiday but his *de facto* wife is not so keen.

Antti Heinonen, 22 years old in 1981, also has his own household at 319 O'Loughlin Street, Bunyip. He knows that he came from Ruuhijärvi-Nastola. He is living with a pregnant "girl friend" who is Australian. He was a schoolboy in Finland, and claims that the reason for his father's decision to migrate was "high taxation in Finland." His father thought about it for three months before deciding to migrate. He works as a knife grinder at the private firm of Beddisons. He found the English language difficult at first. He misses Finland, but doesn't find the standard of living low in Australia and has easily found employment. He has read ten books in the last six months, 14 newspapers in the last two weeks, both Finnish and Australian, the Finnish ones being sent from Finland. He has lots of Australian and Finnish friends, whom he meets outside his work and whom I saw at his home when I interviewed him. (The only Australians in any Finnish home while I was there.) He is a Finnish Lutheran, attends church sometimes, gives his hobbies as looking after the house (His home was one of the nicest in Bunyip, painted on the exteror, decorated on the interior, furnished with stereo and other consumer durables.), football, camping, riding motor bikes. He was the most unequivocal answering, "Will you become an Australian citizen?" "Why?" "No." "Why not?" "I'm a Finn." He has not considered Australianizing his name, ate Finnish food "at mum's, three times a week," in general thought that the cost of living was too high in Finland and his only comment on Australia was FRASER! He would not be going back for a holiday because he would be chucked in to the army, and claimed that Sipilainen was "never going back" because of his experiences in the Finnish army.

As a first effort the survey was not, of course, perfect. In trying to be as delicate as possible in sensitive areas, I side-stepped many questions I would have liked to

have asked about attitudes towards Kekkonen, to Swedish-Finns, to reciprocal pension and social service payments, to whether they were Karelian refugees. I was pulled up short by Latvala who asked me, "Why didn't you ask me 'How do Finns adjust to Australia and to the Australian standard of living?' " "Well, how do they?" "Very slowly."

The other three Finnish families living in Bunyip are the Sipilainens, the Pakarinens and the Ilmanens. The Ilmanens live at 184 Jenkins Terrace. Mr. and Mrs. Ilmanen, Reijo and Sally, left Finland in 1969, wholly assisted. Sally speaks no English, and information on the Ilmanen family was obtained from their eldest boy, Kai, who put questions I asked him in English to his mother in Finnish. The family came from Kokkola. Reijo was 28 and Sally 22. They had one child then, Kai, who in 1981 was 13. They have two children born in Australia - Henry, 11, and Diana, 7. Asked whether they had the intention to stay at the time they migrated Sally answered, "Maybe, maybe not." Sally said they came to Australia "to see what it's like" - the love of adventure. They didn't think about it before migrating. They had no friends or relatives here, came by air, and have lived only in Bunyip. Reijo is a pine feller. Sally has found English difficult, but says Reijo "gets on." (He does. I met him at the Latvalas.). Sally said she didn't know if she missed Finland, and thought that she didn't understand the question about the Australian standard of living as she "can't speak English." Reijo did not find it difficult to find employment. She had read no books in the last six months and no newspapers. Reijo had five shelves of uniformly bound Finnish books, read a lot, and took Australian and Finnish newspapers, the Finnish one being telegraph news printed in Australia. The Ilmanens met Finnish and Australian friends inside and outside work, were Finnish Lutherans and "occasionally" attended church. Sally's hobby was needlework. On the wall was an embroidered hanging. She also fished and knitted. Reijo liked reading and was musical. The house had an organ and was the most affluent and well-to-do looking of the Finns'. Sally will not become an Australian citizen. Why not? "No English." The Ilmanens had not considered Australianizing their name and ate Finnish food every day. Sally had no comments on Finland but said that in Australia "everything is funny." What is "funny"? "The people." She would like to go to Finland for a visit. Her mother-in-law has come to Australia from Kokkola and paid them a visit.

If Sally Ilmanen was the most isolated young Finn in Bunyip, Aila Pakarinen was the most unhappy. Paavo and Aila Pakarinen live at 350 Jenkins Terrace. Paavo filled out the questionnaire, the only Finn to do so. For the rest I deduced the data from questions, including the data from his wife, Aila. When I called, Mrs. Pakarinen was "at the Mount" shopping. When I returned she would not fill in the form or answer the questions, was too busy with her family's evening meal and asked that I call back the next day at 12.15. I did so and found the following data:

Paavo and Aila migrated in 1968, wholly assisted. They came from Tervo in Kuopio province. Paavo was 37 and Aila 20. Paavo's father was a farmer, Aila's a pine feller. Both had seven years of primary education. Paavo worked in Finland as a truck driver, Aila as a nurse's aid. From Paavo's previous marriage, they have three children, whose ages on migrating were Meeri, 11, Merja, 8, and Arja, 5. They have three Australian-born children, Markko, Anna and Jamie. The Pakarinens had relatives in Australia, a job lined up, friends in Australia, thought about it for two years before

migrating for "general economic reasons." Paavo's sister lived in Bunyip. Her name is Nuutinen and she lives at 6 Rodney Avenue, Ingle Farm. They have not lived in other towns and came to Bunyip by air direct. Aila found English easy and speaks it fluently. Paavo had difficulty. They both answered "Yes and no," to "Do you miss Finland?" Both considered the Australian standard of living alright and had no trouble finding employment. Aila worked as a grape picker in seasonal employment. Paavo read 60 books in the last six months, 17 newspapers in the last two weeks, one Finnish and the rest Australian. Aila doesn't read books any longer and reads mainly English newspapers. She says she learnt English from the children and the television. They are a sociable family, but Aila and Paavo are the only Finns to explicitly note that they met Finnish friends inside and outside work and Australian friends only inside work. They were Finnish Lutherans and attend church. Aila says she has no hobbies or interest. Paavo lists reading, looking after the house, cars and camping. He is the only Finn to say he will become an Australian citizen. Why? "BECAUSE I INTEND TO STAY." Aila said "I don't really want to." The Pakarinens have not considered Australianizing their name. They eat Finnish food most of the time. They are going to Finland in 1982. Paavo is the only one to make a general comment in writing on Finland. "IT'S A NICE COUNTRY TO LIVE IN, IF YOU ARE WELL OFF. THE WAGES ARE TOO LOW AND THERE IS TOO MUCH UNEMPLOYMENT." And on Australia? "GIVE THEM A GO AND THEY WILL GIVE YOU A GO."

Family Sipilainen also decided to give Australia "a go." The Sipilainen family comprised Riska and Asta, the mother and father. It was their decision in 1971 to migrate to Australia. They brought with them Vesa, Risto, Hannu, Timo and Tina. Riska and Asta were 38 years old when they migrated. Their children, four boys and a girl, were 16, 15, 14, 12 and 2 years respectively. At the time of migration, Riska was a timber worker like his father. Riska drove a loghauling tractor when they arrived in Australia.

The Sipilainen family was wholly assisted. They Sipilainen home in Finland was northeast of Oulu. The family has stayed together since they arrived in Australia, none of the children, four of whom are now over 20 years old, marrying. It was Riska's intention to stay in Australia and they have. The two younger boys were in Finnish primary school when the family emigrated, and the two older boys and their parents had high school education.

Sipilainen thought about emigrating for two to three years before he left. He emigrated for the future of his children and so that the family might have "a chance in working life." Since he has settled in Australia, Sipilainen has added that climate is a factor in staying in Bunyip. The Sipilainens had no friends or relatives in Australia, but since they have arrived another family, Riska's sister, has "followed them" and settled in the capital city, Adelaide, about 500 km north of Bunyip. The Sipilainens travelled to Australia by air and lived in many other places before settling in Bunyip. Riska and Asta worked as pine fellers before Riska injured his back. Riska is now "on compo" and Asta has retired. She used to fell more trees than anyone "in the bush," as they now describe the pine plantations. The two older boys, Vesa and Risto, one of whom has his own home in Bunyip, work in the bush pine felling. The two younger boys, Hannu and Timo, work in the mill, softwood finishing for the company SAPFOR - South Australian Perpetual Forests. Of the seven family members

only the two youngest, Timo and Tina, speak English. None of them miss Finland. None of them find the Australian standard of living too low. 'Not so far" have they found employment difficult to find. Since the non - English speakers are cut off from the rest of the community, they spend a lot of time reading. Mr. Mäkelä, the Finnish Lutheran Pastor in Adelaide, makes trips to Bunyip with books from his Finnish library in Adelaide. He also supplies Finnish newspapers. They take both Finnish and Australian newspapers in the household. They are Finnish Lutheran. There is no Finnish Lutheran Church in Bunyip, but they do attend the Australian Lutheran Church a couple of times a year and are visited by Mr. Mäkelä.

All of them like fishing. Riska, Asta and Hannu like reading. Asta lists gardening among her hobbies. Tim goes bowling and Hannu plays Australian-rules football. Timo and Riska also go hunting: None of them intend to become Australian citizens, because Riska says, they might want to go back to live in Finland. He was also resentful of the way in which no facilities were given to the family to learn English on arrival. "When we came," he said, "there was a language school, but we weren't informed. We were working too hard to learn about it, and now as a result, ten years later, we still have no English, and thus there is little point in taking up Australian citizenship." Timo commented that dual citizenship is impossible. The Sipilainen family did not consider "Australianizing" their name. They ate Finnish food sometimes. The Sipilainen family house was the most Finnish in its interior.

Sipilainen was playing Finnish music on a cassette player when I arrived. He blew a lap horn for me and tinkled a reindeer bell. There were *porkkas* hanging from an antler on the wall, a flag of Finland and the arms of their native town. Timo, the returned Finnish national servicemen, wore a woollen cap and walked home from the pine factory carrying a stubby of beer *a la Finnois*.

FROM FINNISH FARMS TO AUSTRALIAN MINES; A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

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Ethnic Problems of Australia and its European Immigrants

The social and cultural experience of immigrants is created by the intersection of two social histories, and in certain cases represents a formation equally new to both. Many aspects of the interaction between the immigrants and the host society are usually explained in terms of a static confrontation between the norms and demands of the host society and the abilities and disabilities (in the broadest sense) inculcated by the immigrants' culture of origin. The demands faced by the immigrants are however often equally new for the host society; all the major countries of neo-European settlement absorbed their main waves of immigration during periods of territorial and economic expansion, and much of the demand for immigrant labour occurred specifically in new areas and new industries. In such situations, the immigrants, together with indigenously-recruited labour, were creating a new component both in their own and their host countries' social and cultural history.

Examples of this kind of dynamic interaction between immigrants and host societies are evident, for instance, in the Recent Settlement period (ca 1860-1914) in Australia as in North and South America, southern Africa, and for the Asian labour recruited throughout the British Empire. The experience of the Finnish-Australian immigrants will be examined as a concrete instance. Most of these were from rural backgrounds (smallholders and agricultural labourers), together with some urban labourers and craftsmen, yet in all countries of Finnish immigration, many went to work in mines. Within Finland, mining was and is of minor significance, but it was being transformed during the Recent Settlement period in the countries of settlement into a large-scale industrial activity. This expansion of mining is closely related to the general impact of the Industrial Revolution in Australia and the other countries, and is an important link between industrialization and territorial expansion and the dispropriation of the native peoples. By examining the causes and consequences of the recruitment of Finnish miners in Australia, it is hoped to throw further light on the social and cultural history of both the immigrant community and the wider Australian society during a very important phase of social and cultural formation.

MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIA

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Multiculturalism has become a popular word in Australia within the last few years, which gives evidence of a great change in people's attitudes towards immigrants and the country's immigration policy. This policy has actively sought to change Anglo-Australians' opinion from rejecting migrants to approving them, which change in turn has had positive repercussions.

Of course, many types of prejudice still exist between and within the various national groups, but acceptance of multicultural diversity in Australia is developing rapidly (Ilpola 1980). The typical Australian may still think that the immigrant is a second-rate citizen (Max Kemp in an interview in Canberra, March 1977), but he can no longer close his eyes to the tremendous economic and cultural effect migration from various parts of the world has had on Australian society.

It is interesting to note the change of tone in demographic books within a period of a few years. The first volume of *Population and Australia*, published in Canberra in 1975, suggests, when dealing with the ethnic origins of immigrants, that the migrants' cultural and social impact should not be over-estimated. On the last pages of the Supplementary Report (*Recent Demographic Trends and Their Implications* 1978), published three years later, the National Population Inquiry refers to the emphasis there is at the moment on the merits of multiculturalism and the establishment of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1977. But it does not neglect to mention that most immigrants were born in the British Isles and that the predominant feature of Australian "ethnicity" is an overwhelming majority, primarily Anglo-Saxon, who communicate easily because they understand one another's language, political system, religious and social customs, etc., and a very diversified minority of which many have little understanding of the majority language and culture. (Ilpola 1980).

Arthur Calwell, the first Minister of Immigration, established guidelines as to the annual intake of migrants and the ethnic preferences to be observed after World War II. Australia was to take 70.000 new immigrants a year, and for traditional reasons British imigrants would be accorded the highest priority to the extent that for every foreign migrant there would be ten people from the United Kingdom. In general, Europeans and Caucasians were welcome; Asians were not, largely due to the "near-invasion" by Japanese forces in the then recent war. (Appleyard 1972, 17)

In spite of the post-war assisted passage scheme, Calwell was not able to achieve the target number of British immigrants. The government had a policy which favoured blue-eyed, fair-skinned immigrants. Along with the British immigrants, Scandinavians were easily assisted, but if one came from further south, more restrictions were placed in the way of migrating to Australia. (Northern Europeans are probably still favoured, then central and then southern Europeans.) (Appleyard 1972, 19-20)

"The good type" of migrants - those who are blue-eyed, blonde and not likely to offend Australians - were looked for in the displaced persons' camps of Europe. Many of them were Poles and Czechs, who had no intention of returning to their homelands while they were under Soviet domination. As the Australian people in general showed little or no hostility to the foreigners who had come out of the refugee camps of Europe, their numbers were increased and the long tradition of chiefly British-oriented assisted migration policy was broken. From then on, at least 50 % of immigrants would be permitted from outside Britain. The new immigration policies had an enormous impact on Australia's ethnic structure, workforce and distribution of population. (Appleyard 1972, 19-20)

Appleyard (1972) gives an example of the uneven distribution of the occupational qualifications of migrants from different countries. In 1967-1968, for instance, 51 % of Americans coming to Australia were professionals, 43 % of Canadians were professionals or administrators, but only 19 % of those of British stock were in this category, and the rate drops to 2 % of Yugoslavs and 5 % of Greeks. In the category of unskilled labour force were 7 % of the Americans coming to Australia, 75 % of Greeks and 49 % of Italians. Appleyard says that these percentages give the impression - rightly or wrongly - that Greeks and Italians are not as well educated as others. (Appleyard 1972, 20)

It has been part of Australian immigration policy to encourage highly skilled people from one country and unskilled from another. The reasons are various. Anyway, it has been easy for Australians to get stereotyped pictures of the nationalities living in the country. They have actually been brainwashed to certain attitudes and beliefs.

With regard to immigration, traditional attitudes are visible in surveys concerning preferences for ethnic groups (Buchanan 1974, 218). It has been indicated that of all the ethnic immigrant groups those of British origin are the most acceptable to the public at large. Obviously this is a fact despite assertions to the contrary. I often heard in Australia, "We don't like the British. We call them 'pommies,' or "All other migrants are approved of except English." (Easily said, but hardly true in practice.)

Behind the surveys there appears to lie a persistence of the national stereotype which gives first preference to the British and northern European, middle (though improving) rank to the other continental European, and the lowest ranking still to the Asian. The attitudes may imply a desire by Australians to sustain the image of cultural and racial homogeneity. Certainly they seem anxious to preserve the British-Australian image. (*Population and Australia* 1975, 219)

Australian immigration policy is not - so it seems to me at least - to the same extent dependent on people's attitudes as it used to be in Calwell's days. For humanitarian reasons and despite of unemployment problems, refugees from Asian count-

ries are let in. Non-European immigration has risen and is likely to continue to rise. Australia is more multicultural today than it was a generation ago, and continuing immigration will tend to increase the multicultural mix in the future (*Population and Australia* 1978).

Doubts were previously expressed about the multicultural mix, particularly by those Australians who had little education themselves. Many, criticized the Australian government for bringing into the country large numbers of supposedly illiterate, unskilled and unsophisticated Mediterranean peasants. According to Smolicz (1972), research shows that relatively few Italian parents have had more than a few years of elementary education. The majority have not even completed their primary schooling. Judged from the standpoint of an urban, conformist, technological and materialistic society, they may be unsophisticated. Nevertheless, they bring with them a centuries-old and highly-refined civilization of which they are a part. More is involved than Mediterranean cooking or some other corresponding ability.

> *Solidarity of an extended family and mutual interdependence of its members, the easy mingling of generations; a gentler, even possibly more sensuous concept of masculinity; a peasant's natural affinity and affection for the land - all these additions to the Australian way of life are to be welcomed, for they increase the cultural diversity of this rather monotonous continent, introduce new flavour, make life more meaningful, more exciting, more varied, more humane, more liveable (Smolicz 1972, 49).*

Quite a few Australians visit Europe nowadays and do not limit their stay to Great Britain only. Their attitudes to the "European negroes," as I often heard the Mediterraneans called during my first visit to Australia (1967-68), are likely to change with the acquaintance of the old cultural countries of Europe.

When Australian emigration officials were sent to displaced persons' camps in Germany, they were given instructions to select manual workers to fill the gaps in the post-war Australian economy. Intellectuals were at the bottom of the list. However, some people with professional qualifications managed to get to Australia by concealing what they were. The great majority of refugee settlers were required to enter manual occupations irrespective of their other qualifications. Even if migrants of this status were unable to regain their previous positions and had to continue in manual occupations, they could nevertheless pass on their values, belief in the importance of education and high achievement motivation to their children. "Hence this latent or submerged middle-class group (although not very numerous in Australia) is particularly interesting from an educational point of view, for it is their children who have frequently won such glowing praise in Australian schools." (Smolicz 1972, 44)

A number of investigations (e.g., those of Jean Martin, L. Pieraccini and J.J. Smolicz) have shown how middle-status people, especially the younger ones, have generally learnt to speak good English and made determined efforts to regain the status and prestige which they had enjoyed in their countries of origin. They have been less concerned about immediate economic rewards, have managed to acquire reasonably satisfying jobs and have avoided ethnic concentrations and exclusive relationship with their fellow nationals. They have integrated well, have become cosmopolitan, but, at the same time, have retained many aspects of their former way of life. Children of middle-class European (Polish) fathers and Australian mothers

have shown conspicuous academic success. (Smolicz 1972, 44-45)

It has been questioned whether it has been wise policy to tend to choose a mainly unskilled labour force from Europe, to favour the culturally less creative elements in the case of several national groups, on the probably false assumption that people from lower social classes would be easier to assimilate and less of a threat to the Anglo-Saxon unity of the country. Displaced persons were screened for manual labourers, and intellectuals were left to moulder in displaced persons' camps. As to the Asians, the opposite is valid. Only the best educated Asians were let in, precisely those who would have been needed in their own countries. (Smolicz 1972, 45-46) When observing teaching situations in Australian schools, one can easily notice how bright the children of the Asian intellectuals are. Even good teachers often have a tough time in answering their well-meant but unusually deep-going questions. The teacher's logic is not always equal to theirs.

There is some historical evidence of uneducated people assimilating rapidly. At least this is valid about early Scandinavian migrants. Olavi Koivukangas (1974) has dealt with these people in *Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II.* The Scandinavians who went to Australia before 1940 had little culture to preserve. The weakest, least enlightened and least intelligent among them turned heart and soul British after marrying Australian, British or Irish girls and getting gradually denationalized. They even regretted their foreign birth. (Koivukangas 1974, 250) No wonder they made good migrants and laid the pavement for later Scandinavian immigration. However, later Scandinavian immigrants are better educated, appreciate their national identity and cherish their culture and traditions. At least the Finns in Australia have their national clubs, often visited by other nationalities also, and their Finland Days, *Suomi Päivät,* every year.

According to the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, the only form of multiculturalism tolerated in Australia in the 1950's and 1960's and still the only safe kind in the eyes of many Australians is the expression of the 'pretty' ethnic traditions - dancing, music, craft - with language and literature sometimes included, more often not. Ethnics often see this concept of multiculturalism as degrading and dehumanising.

The members of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council agree with the statement adopted at the UNESCO meeting on "Cultural Pluralism and National Identity" (Calgary, Alberta, Canada, June 1977) that " cultural pluralism is increasingly becoming a matter of conscious choice." They believe, therefore, that their goal in Australia should be to create a society in which people of non-Anglo-Australian origin are given the opportunity, as individuals or groups, to choose to preserve and develop their culture - their languages, traditions and arts. These can then become living elements in the diverse culture of the total society, while at the same time enjoy effective and respected places within one Australian society, with equal access to the rights and opportunities that society provides and responsibilities towards it.

In their opinion, it would be nonsense to say that multiculturalism means that every culture is equally valued and equally legitimate. But they consider it important that the spokesmen for every culture should be heard and that they should be taken seriously. In short, multiculturalism means ethnic communities getting "into the act." What they think Australia should be working towards is not a oneness, but a unity, not a similarity, but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond

of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure. They quote the UNESCO statement, "Cultural pluralism offers a framework for the full development of human potential, both at the individual and group level. It guarantees the cultural identity and social and cultural security of individuals and groups, while at the same time ensuring the enrichment of human experience and inter-cultural understanding." (*Australia as a Multicultural Society* 1978, 5, 16-17)

Multiculturalism is a slogan in Australia today. The term was long used in a vague sense to cover primary school social studies curricula, international education and some secondary language studies. In its present sense, developed in the last few years, and at a time when people all over the world tend to look for their roots, multiculturalism as a national policy challenges all Australians to examine their thoughts about the nature of their society. Education programs are now supposed to contribute to a society that recognizes and fosters ethnic diversity within a context of national unity. As the acceptance of multiculturalism increases, people are more and more identifying themselves ethnically. This is not only valid for non-English-speaking ethnic groups but also for people who previously referred to themselves as Anglo-Australians and are now Irish-Australians or Scots-Australians. (Matthews 1979)

In schools, the goal of the curriculum should be to help each child learn how to function effectively within the common culture, his or her ethnic culture and other ethnic cultures. The common culture is nowadays multicultural. (McNamara 1976, 54) Thus multicultural education should be concerned with three basic concepts: the student's Australian ethnic identity; the student's Australian national identity, and the interaction of individuals from different ethnic backgrounds in a multicultural society (Matthews 1979, 17). Multicultural education is the concern of all schools and not only of the schools with migrant children attending them (McNamara, 1976, 55). What is required of all teachers and their pupils is not slight.

Finally, a few words about Aboriginals in multicultural Australia.

Australians have not been able to appreciate their Aboriginals; many still can't. The native inhabitants of Australia were originally treated worse than negroes ever were in America. They were hunted like animals, shot by the thousands, given poisoned bread, made alcoholics and contaminated with European diseases. In their own country they received their civil rights as late as the 1960s.

The Government is doing its best now to make up for what was formerly done to the Aboriginals, overdoing it in many people's opinion. The most enlightened Australians realize that the Aboriginals are different, unique people. They are highly intelligent but not by western standards. Middle class western values have very little meaning for them. They do not care for big homes or shiny new cars. They have an ideology of their own, where affection and social values play an important part.

It has been difficult to educate Australian Aboriginal children in white-oriented schools. School principals in various parts of Australia still complain of the absenteeism of Aboriginal children and their poor scholastic achievements. Bilingual education programs have been introduced in English and several Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory, for instance.

Aboriginals have started to discover their black identity. They have founded Aboriginal pre-schools, where they want their children to identify with their race from the beginning. They bring in tribal people to tell stories of the dreamtime and to

play music. Aboriginal actors, painters, boxers and musicians give the children role models. At the same time Aboriginal children learn how to survive in a white society. (Butt, 1979) Matthews (1979) suggests that a course in Australian-Aboriginal studies should be among the ones dealing with ethnic groups. If it is well run, it may offer an insight into a completely different approach to human existence.

Multicultural education should not be limited to schools and teacher training institutes only, and it isn't either. For instance, there are interesting experiments going on in teaching ethnic languages to Australian doctors and nurses in hospitals. But really effective multicultural education should and could be provided via the Australian mass media. Michael Clyne (1980) has expressed refreshing observations and suggestions in this area and concerning the Australian press and television.

The recently-changed Australian immigration policy, which Heimo Uotila from the Department of Education, Canberra, and Prof. Appleyard from the University of Perth gave lectures on when visiting our university (Oulu) in October 1981, is very likely to add new features to multiculturalism in Australia. It will bring into the country welcome experts who already know the language of the majority. They obviously have self-confidence and energy and a need to put those characteristics to effective use.

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IV AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Jan Reksten
Australian Embassy, Stockholm

In February 1982 the Australian Migration policy was about to change and a new selection system was to be introduced on 19.4.1982. The two largest and most significant categories in our migration program, then as now, were "family reunion" and "occupational eligibility".

Family Reunion

The main difference between the old and the new policies was the introduction in the new policy of provision for Australian residents to sponsor their brothers/sisters, nondependet children and working-age parents, (i.e. relatives likely to join the workforce). This concession was made in the new policy using a more carefully designed and controlled system of sponsorship and offers of employment. Furthermore, the qualifying residential period necessary to be permitted to sponsor a relative was to be reduced to a uniform 2 years under the new policy.

Occupational Eligibility

This is the category under which people apply in their own right on the basis of their professional, technical and trade skills. Applicants in this category are first screened against an official government list of occupations in demand in Australia. Under the new policy, only those occupations listed as being in "shortage" or "minor shortage" were to be eligible for consideration, whereas under the old policy, occupations described as being in "balance" could also be considered.

The Effects

Compared with some of the larger and more traditional source countries for migration such as, for example, Great Britain and the southern Europe countries, Scandinavia would have a proportionately small number of family reunion cases. In practice, the numbers of family reunion cases have increased slightly from Scandinavia because of the new provisions, but how this compares with the increase (if any) from other

countries, I do not know.

The main impact of the new policy would be in the "occupational eligibility" area, and this has proved to be the case. Not only were the eligible groups restricted to those occupations in "shortage" and "minor shortage", but also the numbers of occupations listed in the shortage categories have been severely reduced during the intervening period. This has been caused largely by the growing unemployment in Australia (now almost 10 %). The number of occupations now eligible for consideration are approximately 25 % of the number listed in the shortage categories 12 months ago.

Many applications have had to be rejected and "occupational eligibility" has now become a relatively small part of our workload.

I estimate now that the final result will be that we will approve only about half as many individuals for migration during the current financial year 1982/83 as we approved during the previous 12 months period. This effect is of course world-wide and affects not only migration to Australia from Scandinavia but from all parts of the world.

Old Policy Applying before 19.4.1982

Immigration Categories and Procedures

As from 1 January 1979, applicants for immigration to Australia will be considered in one of four new eligibility categories. These are as follows:

First Category – Family Reunion

1(a) Immediate family reunion

(I) spouses;

(II) unmarried children under 18 years of age (under 21 years if part of the family unit); and

(III) children for adoption from overseas under 18 years of age will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ sponsorship by a spouse or parent who is a resident of Australia;
- ☐ provision of maintenance and accommodation;
- ☐ good health (criteria may be relaxed);
- ☐ good character; and
- ☐ in the case of children who are to be adopted, eligibility will also depend on:

Either

- ☐ the adoption proposal having the support of the child welfare authorities in the State of residence of the adoptive parents;

Or

- ☐ if the child has already been adopted overseas, the recognition of the adoption order by an Australian court or the adoption authorities in the State of residence of the adoptive parents; or the existence of a child-parent relationship of long standing such that refusal of entry would be contrary to the welfare and best interest of the child.

(b) Special family reunion

(I) parents of retiring age (60 for females, 65 for males); provided the sponsoring son or daughter has been a resident of Australia for at least one year;

(II) non-dependent parents of working age (under 60 years for females and under 65 for males); provided where the parents have up to three children at least one is resident in Australia; where the parents have four or five children, at least two are resident in Australia; where the parents have more than five children, at least three are resident in

Australia; and the sponsor is a son or daughter who has been a resident of Australia for at least three years;

(III) parents under retiring age, whether dependent or non-dependent, all of whose offspring are in Australia, provided the sponsoring son or daughter has been a resident of Australia for at least three years;

(IV) a child or sibling who has no parent or parent-in-law outside Australia and who is the last remaining child or sibling outside Australia provided that the sponsor is a parent or sibling who has been a resident of Australia for at least three years;

(V) an aged close relative (over 60 years for females and 65 for males) who has been wholly or largely supported on a permanent or indefinite basis by the sponsor and who will continue to be so supported by the sponsor in Australia, provided the sponsor has been a resident of Australia for at least one year;

(VI) unmarried minor relatives under 18 years of age both of whose parents are deceased, provided guardianship arrangements have been approved by the relevant authorities and the requirements of the Guardianship of Children Act are observed;

(VII) a relative able and willing to assist on a continuing basis in a situation of permanent or long-term need brought about by death, disability, prolonged illness or some other serious circumstances will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ sponsorship by an appropriate relative 18 years of age or over;
- ☐ satisfactory maintenance and accommodation provision where necessary;
- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of personal and settlement factors (except for group (I)) and provided the applicant is not likely to become a charge on public funds;
- ☐ good health – criteria may be relaxed ● for those in groups (I), (V), (VI) and (VII); and
- ☐ good character.

(c) Fiancés (male and female)

Fiancés will be admitted provided there is no legal impediment to the proposed marriage under Australian law subject to:

- ☐ sponsorship by a resident of Australia 18 years of age or over who has been a resident of Australia for at least one year;
- ☐ the sponsor and fiancé being personally known to each other – where both the sponsor and the fiancé overseas have not met but are from countries or a background in which arranged marriages are common, and an arranged marriage is proposed, the application will be considered sympathetically;
- ☐ a genuine intention of marriage;
- ☐ evidence certified by an authorised marriage celebrant that arrangements have been made for the marriage to take place within one month of the proposed date of arrival of the sponsored fiancé in Australia.
- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of personal and settlement factors and provided the sponsored fiancé is not likely to become a charge on public funds;
- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

Second Category – General Eligibility

2(a) Independent applicants

Applicants not eligible under any other category, but who possess skills, qualifications, personal or other qualities which represent economic, social or cultural gain to Australia, will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of economic, personal and settlement factors;

● In no instance will this relaxation enable entry of persons who are assessed as being a risk to public health in Australia.

- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

In the case of persons who can obtain nomination, credit will be given provided the nominator is 18 years of age or over and has been a resident of Australia at least one year.

(b) Employment nominees

Applicants who are the subject of an employment nomination will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of economic, personal and settlement factors – credit will be given for the employment nomination;
- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

Third Category

3 Refugees, displaced persons and other applicants

Refugees, displaced persons and other applicants seeking entry to Australia on humanitarian ground will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ criteria established under individual refugee programs;
- ☐ recognition of refugee status by the Australian Government;
- ☐ good health, except in instances when strong compassionate factors are present when health criteria may be relaxed; and
- ☐ good character.

Fourth Category – Special Eligibility

4(a) Trans-Tasman arrangement

Citizens of New Zealand, and Commonwealth and Irish citizens resident in New Zealand, when travelling to Australia direct from New Zealand, are generally exempted from the requirement to seek prior authority to enter Australia.

(b) Patrials

United Kingdom citizens who are the issue of an Australian-born parent or grandparent will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ evidence of an Australian-born parent or grandparent;
- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of personal and settlement factors and provided the applicant or family is not likely to become a charge on public funds;
- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

(c) Entrepreneurs

Applicants intending to establish an enterprise in Australia will be admitted subject to:

- ☐ the entrepreneurial experience of the applicant in relation to the proposed enterprise in Australia;
- ☐ the adequacy of transferable capital to meet the equity requirements of the proposed enterprise;
- ☐ the viability and desirability of the proposed enterprise, having regard to government policies of protection to industry, structural change and related considerations – Commonwealth and State departments will be consulted;
- ☐ the capacity of the proposed enterprise to introduce new technology or processes or to create significant employment, directly or indirectly;
- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of personal and settlement factors and provided the applicant or his/her family is not likely to become a charge on public funds;
- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

(d) Self-supporting retirees

Applicants who intend to retire in Australia and have reached retirement age, i.e. 60 years to females and 65 years for males, subject to:

- ☐ possession of transferable assets and/or income sufficient to establish a home in Australia and to provide adequately for their living costs and care and support services likely to be required;
- ☐ a satisfactory assessment of personal and settlement factors and provided the applicant or family is not likely to become a charge on public funds;
- ☐ good health; and
- ☐ good character.

New Policy Applying from 19.4.1982

Immigration Categories and Procedures

From 19 April 1982 applicants for immigration to Australia will be considered in one of five eligibility categories. These are as follows:

FIRST CATEGORY – FAMILY MIGRATION

Sub-Category A

(I) spouses;
(II) unmarried children if part of the family unit;
(III) children for adoption from overseas under 18 years of age;
(IV) orphaned unmarried relatives under 18 years of age provided guardianship arrangements have been approved by the relevant authorities;
(V) a relative able and willing to assist on a continuing basis in a situation of permanent or long-term need brought about by death, disability, prolonged illness or some other serious circumstances.

Persons falling within (I) to (V) above will be admitted subject to:

sponsorship by the spouse or the appropriate relative 18 years of age or over who is a legal permanent resident of Australia;

an Assurance of Support except for (I) and (II);

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects, where necessary;

good health (criteria may be relaxed); and

good character.

In the case of children who are to be adopted, eligibility will also depend on:

Either

the adoption proposal having the support of the child welfare authorities in the State of residence of the adoptive parents;

Or

if the child has already been adopted overseas, the recognition of the adoption order by an Australian court or the adoption authorities in the State of residence of the adoptive parents; or the existence of a child-parent relationship of long standing such that refusal of entry would be contrary to the welfare and best interest of the child.

(VI) Fiance(e)s (male and female) will be admitted subject to:

sponsorship by the fiance(e) who is a legal permanent resident of Australia;

there being no legal impediment to the proposed marriage under Australian law;

the sponsor and fiance(e) being personally known to each other. Where both the sponsor and the fiance(e) overseas have not met and an arranged marriage is proposed, the application will be considered if both the sponsor and fiance(e) are from countries or a background in which arranged marriages are common;

a genuine intention of marriage;

Fiance(e)s will be admitted initially on a temporary basis for a period of three months. Proof of bona fide marriage will be required before change of status to a permanent resident. Evidence will be required, certified by an authorised marriage celebrant, that arrangements have been made for the marriage to take place within the three months period (in sufficient time to enable change of status to be granted before the expiry of the temporary entry permit);

an Assurance of Support, where necessary;
a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects, where necessary;
good health; and
good character.

Sub-Category B

(I) parents of retiring age (60 for females, 65 for males);
(II) parents of working age (under 60 years for females and under 65 for males);
(III) aged close relatives (over 60 years for females and 65 for males) who have been wholly or largely supported on a permanent or indefinite basis by the sponsor and who will continue to be so supported by the sponsor in Australia;
(IV) last remaining brother or sister non-dependent child if he or she has no parent, brother or sister or non-dependent child resident outside Australia; if married the same requirements apply to the spouse.

Persons in groups (I) to (IV) will be admitted subject to:

sponsorship by the appropriate relative 18 years of age or over who is an Australian citizen or legal permanent resident of at least two years standing (the sponsorship to include provision of financial assistance and accommodation where necessary);
in the case of (II) and (IV), an employment offer, if likely to enter the workforce;
an Assurance of Support normally would be required;
a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects, where necessary;
good health (criteria may be relaxed for some groups); and
good character.

Sub-Category C

(I) non-dependent children: and
(II) brothers and sisters will be admitted subject to:

sponsorship by the appropriate relative 18 years of age or over who is an Australian citizen or legal permanent resident of Australia of at least two years standing.

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment (additional points will be given on the assessment if the sponsorship includes the provision of financial assistance and accommodation);
a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects;
an employment offer, if the applicant's occupation is not in demand;
good health; and
good character.

SECOND CATEGORY – LABOUR SHORTAGE AND BUSINESS MIGRATION

(I) Occupations in Demand

Applicants whose occupations are in demand in Australia will be admitted subject to:

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment:
a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects;
good health; and
good character.

(II) Employment Nosninees

Applicants who are covered by an Employment Nomination will be admitted subject to;

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment (additional points will be given for the employment nomination);

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects;

good health; and

good character.

Employment Nominations will be accepted only when the nominating employer has demonstrated:

inability to recruit or train a suitable employee in Australia; and

a satisfactory record of training and that the intake of migrant workers will not lead to any lessening of training efforts.

(III) Business Migration

(a) Applicants with proposals for substantial enterprises to be set up in Australia will be admitted subject to:

satisfactory assessment of the viability and desirability of the proposed enterprise;

satisfactory assessment of the business experience or expertise of the applicant in relation to the proposed enterprise;

a satisfactory assessment of the potential for the utilisation of technologies or expertise which will benefit Australia by any of the following:

introducing a new industry

improving an existing industry

expanding Australia's exports

promoting employment opportunities in Australia;

available capital being

adequate to meet the equity requirements of the proposed enterprise

personal capital, free of encumbrance and

legally transferrable according to the exchange control regulations of the country from which it is intented to be transferred;

the capital to be left in Australia once it has been transferred;

the applicant's intention to take an active part in the proposed enterprise:

the proposal must not violate Australian foreing investment policy;

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment;

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects;

good health; and

good character.

(b) Self-employed applicants who intend to be self-employed in certain areas of expertise in Australia will be admitted subject to:

considerable experience and a record of success in the proposed activity;

sufficient capital for the proposed activity in Australia;

the capital being personal capital, free of encumbrance and legally transferable;

evidence of having investigated opportunities for using their expertise in Australia and having a knowledge of local conditions, regulations, markets and other aspects affecting prospects of success;

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment;

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects:

good health: and

good character.

THIRD CATEGORY – INDEPENDENT MIGRATION

A limited number of applicants who are not eligible to apply under other categories but who possess outstanding characteristics which would make them of obvious gain to Australia, will be admitted subject to:

a satisfactory Economic/Employment Assessment:

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects:

good health: and

good character.

FOURTH CATEGORY – REFUGEES AND SPECIAL HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS

Refugees, displaced persons and other applicants seeking entry to Australia on humanitarian grounds will be admitted subject to:

criteria established under individual refugee and special humanitarian programs:

recognition of refugee statu s by the Australian Government, where entry under a refugee program is involved:

good health, except in instances when strong compassionate factors are present when health criteria may be relaxed: and

good character.

FIFTH CATEGORY – SPECIAL ELIGIBILITY

(I) Trans-Tasman Arrangement

Persons holding New Zealand passports are generally exempted from the visa requirement.

(II) Patrials

An applicant who is the child or grandchild of a person born in Australia will be admitted subject to:

evidence of an Australian-born parent or grandparent:

a satisfactory of settlement prospects:

good health: and

good character.

(III) Self-supporting Retirees

Applicants who intend to retire in Australia and have reached retirement age, i.e. 60 years for females and 65 years for males, will be admitted subject to:

possession of substantial transferable assets and/or income sufficient to establish a home in Australia and to provide adequately for their living costs and care and support services likely to required:

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects:

good health: and

good character.

(IV) Creative or Sporting Talents

Applicants who have creative or sporting talents which would be of benefit to Australia will be admitted subject to:

a continuing record of outstanding achievement in creative or sporting endeavour:

a satisfactory assessment of settlement prospects:

good health: and

good character.

V CONCLUDING SESSION

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PLANS

Minutes kept February 19, 1982 at concluding session of "International Symposium on Scandinavian Migration to Australia and New Zealand," held at Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, February 17-19, 1982.

Participants, See pages 137-138.

§ 1 Ulf Beijbom was elected chairman for concluding session, Ivo Holmqvist secretary.

§ 2 It was agreed that a bibliography on Scandinavian emigration to Australia and New Zealand be compiled and co-ordinated, and a main catalogue be produced;
- the existing catalogue at the Emigrant Institute of Växjö may serve as model,
- catalogue entries should, preferably, be computerized,
- catalogue should include information on researchers,
- a joint Australian catalogue and a joint Scandinavian catalogue should be produced and an exchange of the two catalogues be made,
- the work group (see § 12) should suggest suitable main editor of catalogue and bibliography,
- the question of possible monitoring of Scandinavian radio and tv-programmes on Australia/New Zealand to be further discussed by the work group,
- John S. Martin and Mark Garner to contact local history societies about information on Scandinavian immigration,
- a brief project report should be sent to all people interviewed in Australia and New Zealand

§ 3 Future procedure of taped interviews with Scandinavian emigrants discussed. It was agreed that
- Allan T. Nilson is to take main responsibility of establishing a standardized form for tape information, including information on topic, language place of origin, etc.,
- copy of standardized form to be sent to University of Melbourne,
- information forms of Swedish and English interviews held at Institute of Migration, Turku, to be sent to Emigrant Institute, Växjö,

- master copy of all interviews (excepting the ones carried out in Finnish) to be stored in Växjö
- copy of Danish interviews to be sent to Udvandrerarkivet, Ålborg, Denmark
- list of taped interviews to be sent to Växjö.

§ 4 Future publication within the framework of the project discussed. Among the publications envisaged are:

- Allan T. Nilson: transcripts of interviews;
- James L. Sanderson: listing with biographical data of Scandinavians in New South Wales;
- Ulf Beijbom: Book on Swedes in Australia, with a possible connection of forthcoming exhibition;
- Ivo Holmqvist: Book on Scandinavians in New Zealand;
- Sten Aminoff: Book with biographical data on Swedish emigrants to New Zealand;
- Olavi Koivukangas: Book on Finns in Australia;
- In connection with the bi-centennial 1988: translation into English of gold-miner Ivan F. Billmanson's letter collection (John S. Martin and Mark Garner). Other manuscript collections and publications out of print should if possible be translated and published in Australia.

§ 5 The desirability of obtaining an Australian research grant for a future card index on all Scandinavian immigrants and an index to source material was discussed

- the desirability of letting some of the publications and research activities coincide with the Australian bi-centennial in 1988 was discussed.
- Olavi Koivukangas has written the entry on Finnish immigrants in the Australian Encyclopaedia. The question of suitable authors for Danish, Swedish and Norwegian entries was raised

§ 6 The question of exhibitions within the framework of the project was discussed. A Swedish-Australian exhibition will be produced by Göteborgs Historiska Museum, Emigrant Institute and possibly Naturhistoriska Riksmuseet, Stockholm, for possible future touring within and outside Scandinavia. A Scandinavian–Australian exhibition should be prepared for showing within Australia. Contacts should, in this connection, be made with Scandinavian societies in Australia with possible aim of obtaining financial backing. The exhibition on Swedes in New Zealand, "The Coming of the Karlakarlar", prepared by Sten Aminoff and in Australia prepared by Sten Almqvist might serve as models.

§ 7 It was agreed that questionnaire forms used by the Emigrant Institute, Växjö, shall be sent to University of Melbourne, and that Scandinavian migration reseach in Australia shall be channelled through the Swedish Section of University of Melbourne.

§ 8 It was further agreed that

- some pages of next issue of the newsletter published by Institute of Migration, Turku, shall be devoted to summaries of the International symposium, and that summaries of papers held there be sent to Olavi Koivukangas.[1]

1. A short summary of the Symposium was published in the Siirtolaisuus - Migration periodical Nr 1, 1982.

- editor of Scandinavian Courier, Australia, should be approached as to further publicity of project;
- the possibility of a press release on project to coincide with visit by King Carl XVI Gustav to Australia was discussed. Press attaché at Swedish embassy and Press Officer at University of Melbourne should be approached on the matter. Contacts with The Royal Court in Stockholm are to be made by Ulf Beijbom;
- Possibilities of contacts with national and ethnic radio programmes in Australia/New Zealand to be investigated with aim to produce informative radio programme on the project and related activities as a joint Scandinavian-Australian-New Zealand enterprise. Mark Garner to co-ordinate suggestions for ABC Radio national network programme on project;
- (in connection with proposal No. 4) A questionnaire for prospective Scandinavian emigrants and a covering letter to be written by Ivo Holmqvist and sent to Jan Reksten, Australian Embassy, Stockholm;
- it was agreed that students shall be encouraged to write shorter papers on Scandinavian immigration in connection with Australian bi-centennial in 1988;
- John S. Martin and Mark Garner are to make efforts of investigating the present whereabouts of the Pastor Ligaard archive in Australia, with possible aim to have them included in either Scandinavian or Australian official archives, and that
- possible Scandinavian parts of the oral history holdings at University of Melbourne shall be investigated by John S. Martin.

§ 9 Carl-Verner Pettersson raised the point of including Fiji within the project and discussed questions relating to his forthcoming research in Western Australia. These questions are to be further discussed by the Swedish part of the work group.

§ 10 Proposal was made to hold next symposium in Australia, possibly as part of bi-centennial celebrations in 1988.

§ 11 Possibilities of raising funds for further research activities were discussed.

§ 12 A joint work committee was formed including R.T. Appleyard (Perth), Ulf Beijbom, Don Dignan, Mark Garner, Ivo Holmqvist, Olavi Koivukangas, Hans Kuhn (Canberra), Sean Lovic, John Martin, Allan T. Nilson and James L. Sanderson. The group can be enlarged as the work proceeds.

§ 13 Discussion concluded by Ulf Beijbom who expressed the participants' gratitude to the economic sponsors of the research, Nordisk Kulturfond and SAS, and to the hosts of the symposium.

Secretary
Ivo Holmqvist

Chairman
Ulf Beijbom

CLOSING REMARKS

Vilho Niitemaa, Turku

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Our symposium has now come to an end. On behalf of the administrative board of the Institute of Migration, I have the pleasure to declare the symposium to be concluded.

I myself has not actively participated in its activities. I have been in a situation similar to that of our greatest philosopher, J.V. Snellman when he was in Switzerland in 1841. He hoped to travel to Italy, but was - because of lack of money - compelled to terminate his journey in the Alps. He wrote to his friend in Finland that he was able only:

"att vandra af på ett kort besök i Schweitz för att bese Alperna och från dem skåda ner öfver Italiens förlovade, men mig förbjudna land."

"to pay a short visit to Switzerland to see the Alps and from there to have a look down on Italy, a promised, but for me a forbidden, land."

So have I as an outsider looked at the far distant Australia and hoped to be able to see it more clearly, but be satisfied to hear what other happier souls have to tell about this beautiful continent.

I well understand that the organizers of the symposium had to limit the number of participants to persons actively involved in research concerning Australia and New Zealand. However, I wish that a good friend of mine, Dr. Aarne A. Koskinen, from the University of Helsinki, a pioneer in studying the early European history of the far Pacific, could have attended the symposium. His 1953 dissertation, "Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands", is a distinguished work in this field. Another specialist and great friend of Australia might well have attended the symposium is prof. Jorma Pohjanpalo, the chairman of the advisory council of the Institute of Migration.

I am specially delighted that our Institute has had the honour of organizing the second international symposium of Scandinavian emigration to Australia and New Zealand, after the first one in Växjö, Sweden, in 1978. I am happy that in addition to our Scandinavian colleagues, we have met representatives of the faraway Antipodes here. So has the chain of the entire Scandinavian emigration to Australia been closed. In my opinion, the lectures and discussions of the symposium during these three days will provide favorable conditions for further development of international

research and cooperation of its scholarly goals.

As we have here today tentatively discussed, the aim is that the following, in order the third, symposium on Scandinavian emigration to Australia, should be held in Australia, in the country of destination for this emigration. This could happen in or about the year 1988, when Australia will celebrate the bicentennial of its European settlement.

Finally in behalf of the administrative board of the Institute of Migration, I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the Institute for the effective organizing of a great number of practical details, which resulted in a successful meeting. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Olavi Koivukangas, the Director of the Institute, for being the moving force behind the idea and for organizing the symposium.

I also hope that as many of us as possible can meet next time under the same theme on the Australian continent. I declare the symposium closed.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
An international symposium, February 17-19, 1982
Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland

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